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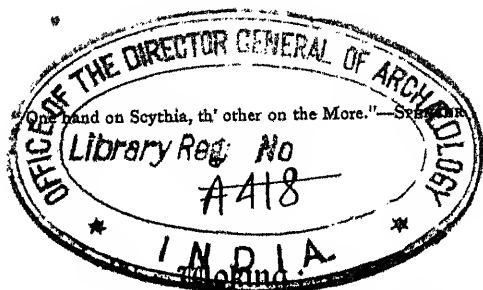
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THIRD SERIES—VOLUME XV. Nos. 29 & 30.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1903.



THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

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OUR COUNTRY.

BY THE HON. MR. C. L. TUPPER, C.S.I.

I.

OUR Country, the land of the brave and the free,
The empress of millions, the queen of the sea,
Be true to thy story, its triumph and strain;
Be strong in the strength we have garnered in pain.

2.

They suffered for England, they died in her cause,
Who fell in defence of our rights and our laws;
They suffered for England who sank in the tide
Where our battleships shattered the foe we defied.

3.

How often thy mantle of empire has spread
To the wailing of women, with tears for the dead!
By sickness in sorrow, in honour by war
The graves of thy children lie scattered afar.

4.

Be this their inscription: that stern is the call
Of the duty of empire to serve or to fall;
And deem not—though onward thy destiny lead—
Thy glory in slaughter or honour in greed.

5.

In justice and mercy thy rule shall endure,
And the passion to serve thee be perfect and pure;
So the tracks of thy ships as they sever the sea
Shall be paths of thy people to lands that are free.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1903.

INDIAN POVERTY AND INDIAN FAMINES.

BY MAJOR CECIL B. PHIPSON.

IN considering the important problems connected with these subjects, it is difficult, perhaps, to avoid ranging one's self with one or other of the two great political parties in India, the British and the Indian, the former of which, though few in numbers, is mighty in power, while the latter, though numberless as grains of the sea-sand, is politically wholly impotent.

In an age of which the intellectual keynote is democratic, in which no higher education is obtainable without this note being insistently sounded, such an anti-democratic situation is necessarily provocative of grave personal misunderstandings and social and political antagonisms, so much so, indeed, that it is scarcely possible for one party to do justice to the other, or to recognise—since British and natives are, after all, but men—that neither side has a monopoly either of right thinking or of right acting. It is, consequently, of all things essential, if we would arrive at any sound conclusion about matters purely economical, that we should abstain from being biassed by such opinions as we may hold about matters purely political. For the former are concerned only with the *measures* needed to bring about some wished-for result, about which it is, happily, possible for even political rivals to agree; but the latter only with the *men* who shall give effect to these measures, about which it is hopeless to expect that such rivals can ever agree at all.

But while we absolutely refuse to concern ourselves with such burning political questions as are destructive of impartiality in the present, such attitude does not require that we shall blind ourselves to certain obvious facts revealed by the past, for a recognition of these is essential to any practical solution of the problems before us. These facts concern themselves (1) with the fundamental functions of government, and (2) with the respective capacities of Britons and Indians to discharge these functions.

THE FUNDAMENTAL FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

What the fundamental functions of government are cannot be more clearly set forth than in the following quotation* : "These functions in their entirety may be broadly divided into four distinct yet always interdependent classes : (1) the political, (2) the judicial, (3) the economical, and (4) the social. The political functions being those which are essential to the defence and extension of the State, the judicial to the suppression and prevention of crime, the economical to the production and distribution of food, and the social to the health and conduct of the people. Nor can the discharge of any one of these functions be neglected or perverted without sooner or later making that of the others impossible. If the State be not defended from attack, there can be no successful repression of crime. If crime be not successfully repressed, there can be no increase in the production or justice in the distribution of food. If there be no increase in the production or justice in the distribution of food, there can be no improvement in the health and conduct of the people. If there be no improvement in the health and conduct of the people, there can be no prosperous growth in their numbers. While if there be no prosperous growth in the number of its people, the State that in this respect stands still or retrogrades will be absorbed at length by one or other of the more prosperous and progressive

* "The Science of Civilization," by C. B. Phipson, pp. 112, 113 (Swan Sonnenschein and Co.).

peoples around it. Prosperous growth in population being, then, essential to continued national existence, towards this goal every civilized State must either advance or perish. Necessarily, then, *prosperous growth in the number of its people becomes the one infallible test of success in the government of any State.* No one of these functions of government, then, can be rightly declared superior or inferior to the rest. Each in its order is essential, although at any given time circumstances may invest the discharge of some one function with especial and supreme importance."

THE RESPECTIVE CAPACITIES OF BRITONS AND INDIANS
TO DISCHARGE EACH OF THE FUNCTIONS
OF GOVERNMENT.

THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONS.

Necessarily, during the creation and building up of any State the function of "special and supreme importance" is the political, for the Government has commonly to fight in defence of its very existence; while such defence, to be successful, generally requires the eventual absorption, if not too powerful or too remote, of all rivals who threaten its existence from without, and the suppression of all rebels who endanger its peace from within. What, then, does history teach us as to the relative capacities of Britons and Indians to discharge the political functions of government? The answer to this question does not admit of argument, so plainly is it determined by facts. No native of British India, let his race or creed be what it may, but must admit that the function discharged by his rulers in this department of government is one that he could not have as efficiently discharged for himself. Let him be Mohammedan, Sikh, Hindu, Mahratta, or Tamul, the confession must be the same. The most powerful native Sovereigns that India ever knew—Akbar the Great and his great-grandson, Aurungzeb—were unable to give to her various races, even temporarily and over but half of the peninsula, any such state of peace and security as is insured to them by

their British rulers continuously and throughout the whole of Hindustan and Burmah. Nor have any such changes occurred, the result of educational experiences, as can equalize, much less invert, the relative political capacities of Britons and Indians; for none of those causes of disturbance and insecurity which produced their natural and necessary effect under even the wisest and most powerful of native Sovereigns has disappeared. The country is still inhabited by peoples of the same diverse races and the same hostile creeds, who, however content to submit to strangers having so little in common with themselves, would in the future as in the past refuse to peacefully accept the political dominance of a hereditary foe. The best testimony, in fact, to the superiority of British political methods over native ones is afforded by a justly celebrated native statesman, Sir Dinkhur Rao, Prime Minister to Scindiah, who declared at the great assembly at Delhi in 1877, at which the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, proclaimed the Queen Empress of India, that "if any man would understand why it is that the English are and must necessarily remain the masters of India, he need only go up to the Flagstaff Tower and look down upon this marvellous camp. Let him notice the method, the order, the cleanliness, the discipline, the perfection of its whole organization, and he will recognise in it at once the epitome of every title to command and govern which one race can possess over others."*

It may, then, be accepted as an axiom, in our consideration of Indian affairs, that the political supremacy of the British and an acceptance of their political ideals is essential to the peace and security of the country, and, consequently, that anything which tends to weaken this supremacy, either in fact or in fancy, entails danger and loss upon the whole community. From which conclusion it necessarily follows that the extent to which Indians are associated with Britons in the discharge of political functions can be properly determined only by the ruling power. And while it must always

* Lord Lytton's "Indian Administration," p. 123.

remain an object of laudable ambition amongst the choicer native spirits to be so associated, and of political wisdom amongst the British to so associate them, it does not constitute any valid or even wisely-removable grievance that the measure of such association should be determined in entire disregard of any question of numerical proportion.

Seeing, then, that the superior political capacity of the British has thus been so amply shown, not as a matter of theory, but of fact ; that the history of their rule in India, from the Battle of Plassy to the annexation of Upper Burmah, has been mainly a record of province after province being rescued from the misrule of intermittent warfare or recurring rebellion, inseparable from a universal failure amongst independent native dynasties to efficiently discharge their political functions, and brought within the influence of such enduring peace as alone makes possible the material and spiritual development of any people ; that in the attainment of those successes there has been inscribed on the roll of Fame a succession of names as soldiers, as statesmen, as administrators, as brilliant as any that illumine the national records of any State, ancient or modern—seeing all this, surely Great Britain has just reason to be proud of her sons and their work, and to resent any organized expression of opinion that would seek to minimize the value or detract from the splendour of their achievements.

THE JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS.

But an efficient discharge of its political functions satisfies, as we know, only one of the four fundamental requisites of good government, and one which, in proportion to its efficiency, demands the more pressingly a correspondingly efficient discharge of those functions which come next in historical importance—its judicial ones, which concern themselves with *the suppression and prevention of crime*. Now, the suppression and prevention of crime is a much more difficult and complex operation than “the defence and extension of the State.” For, since crime is nothing but a

violation of law, its repression and prevention necessarily demands—

1. Integrity on the part of those who enforce the law.
2. Justice in respect to the laws they enforce.

For if judges are corrupt there cannot be suppression of crime, while if laws are unjust there cannot be prevention of it.

The Integrity of British and Indian Judges.

Now, as to the comparative integrity of British and Indian judges, the past speaks no less emphatically than as to the comparative success of British and Indian statesmen, for the taking of gifts to blind their eyes by judges is a practice as absolutely condemned by public opinion amongst Britons as it is condoned and accepted as inevitable amongst Indians and Easterns generally. And yet an upright administration of its laws is just as essential to the free development of a State as is the maintenance of peace and security to its national existence. Whence it follows that, in the discharge of its judicial functions, the Government of India must require an observance of British standards of conduct, a result which cannot yet be secured save by a disproportionate predominance of British judges. But such predominance in the judicial department of government need not be anything like so complete as in the political, for there are thousands of able and upright Indians who, encouraged by British example and supported by British authority, would administer the law with a fidelity and impartiality second to none. In this department of government, therefore, there is a large and attractive field open to the association of Indians with Britons, to the manifest educational gain of both parties.

THE JUSTICE OF LAWS.

British Statutes.—As to the superior justice of British statutes over Indian customs—for of statute law there was but little in pre-British times—practically all Britons and many educated Indians entertain not the shadow of a doubt, instancing such Indian customs as suttee and compulsory

widowhood put down by such British statutes as have suppressed them. But such objectionable customs and their suppressing statutes cover but a small part of the field of comparison, and that by no means the most important part, though they loom so large in British eyes as to seem to cover the whole. Without this belief, indeed, it would be impossible to account for the certitude which Britons feel as to the superiority of any statute passed to meet the real or supposed exigencies of the moment over any custom it abrogates, sanctioned by no matter how many centuries of contented usage. Such certitude is also largely due, no doubt, to British confidence in that remarkable body of men who, as covenanted civilians, as selected soldiers, or as trained experts, give effect to those statutes when administering the laws, collecting the revenues, or executing the public works of the Government with such conspicuous fidelity, spotless integrity, and constructive ability as has created a standard of conduct in the discharge of official duties such as constitutes, perhaps, the chief amongst the many indisputable benefits for which the natives of India are indebted to their British rulers. Thus, the character of the administration is accepted as proving, with what justice we shall presently see, the excellence of the laws they administer and the reverse of the customs these abrogate.

With, then, the above successes, both real and imaginary, to its credit in the discharge of its political and judicial functions, the Indian Government thinks, not unnaturally, that it has deserved well of the whole people. It even considers that it has set up a valid claim to their gratitude in that it has not confined itself to a bare discharge of the above functions, but, going far beyond these, has compassionately devoted itself, with a large measure of success, to mitigating evils which it does not cause, and which it deems itself powerless to avert, such as those arising from deficiencies in rainfall or from epidemics of disease. While, in doing this, it considers it has carried into the province of government those Christian feelings of altruism which

require the individual not to confine himself, in his relations with his neighbour, to a bare discharge of his legal duties, but, while not neglecting these, to constantly supplement them by such acts of charity and sympathy as, in similar circumstances, he would desire for himself. Theoretically, it is entirely from this standpoint that the Indian Government regards its action in the matter of famine relief and outbreaks of cholera and the plague, and it is proportionately indignant when its generous gifts, as it deems them, are not received in the same spirit as that in which they are bestowed.

Nor can it be blamed for adopting this attitude, seeing that neither it, nor Britons generally, nor, indeed, any Western civilization, has ever recognised, even in theory, that Governments have other than political and judicial duties to discharge. That they have economic and social duties which, in their turn, demand performance no less imperatively than the former, and are of quite equal obligation if there is to be any prosperous development of the State, is a fact which not only they, but no acknowledged authority on the subject, has ever insisted upon. Indeed, until quite recently, the whole drift of what is pleased to call itself political "science" has set in an exactly opposite direction, its persistent aim being to minimize the functions of Government and to exaggerate those of individuals, it being only in this way, it considers, that Governments can avoid imposing upon the people an ever-increasing and ultimately crushing burden of taxation.

It is revolt against this political ignorance and the evil consequences which result from Governments failing to discharge their economic and social duties that has given birth to Socialism, which, like all revolts, carries those concerned in them as far beyond the point of true equilibrium as timid or narrow-minded authorities have stopped short of it. The mistake made by these enthusiasts is to exaggerate the functions and capacities of Government and to minimize those of individuals, a remedy even more and more speedily fatal, as all history teaches, than the disease itself.

But the maintenance of peace and security through an efficient discharge by the Government of its political functions, and the suppression and prevention of crime through a similar discharge of its judicial functions, tends to produce in every State, unless counteracted by definite economic hindrances, one unvarying result—viz., a *rapid increase in the number of the people*. While such an increase, if it is not to become a source of danger and disintegration instead of strength to the State, demands from its Government an efficient discharge of its economic functions, seeing that upon such discharge depends *the increasing production and just distribution of food*; so the more efficient any Government becomes in the discharge of any one of its specific functions, the more pressing grows the need that it shall rise to equal efficiency in the successive discharge of all the others. Better that it should fall short of efficiency in all departments than that, succeeding in one or two, it should fail to advance towards efficiency in the rest. When, therefore, the Government of such a State as India, by an efficient discharge of its political and judicial functions, insures a rapid increase in the number of its people, it results simply from either ignorance of what its other functions are, or of how to discharge them, if it now stands paralyzed before such growth in population as it is the very purpose of its own political and judicial actions to encourage. And when, as an excuse for this attitude of alarmed incapacity, it, or any of its defenders, adduces the "Malthusian law of population," it only thereby insures its more complete condemnation. For the Malthusian law, which is that of the unreasoning animal world, only comes into operation amongst communities of reasoning men *if these fail to make a right use either of their intellects or of their powers*. That it places any impassable natural barrier in the way of the prosperous multiplication of any people is a delusion clearly exposed in the "Law of Social Development,"* a

* "Science of Civilization," pp. 174-200.

delusion which both fosters and is fostered by the many mistaken principles set forth as "natural laws" by the now very generally discredited school of orthodox political economists, which school not merely failed to realize what are the true economic duties of government, but has even insisted upon its not having any economic duties at all, or, rather, upon its discharging as duties what experience and reason ultimately prove to be the most insidious and disintegrating of economic crimes.

Indian Customs.—Now, it is just in respect to the recognition and discharge of the economic functions of government that the East finds itself in conflict with the West. Not that the East, China alone excepted, has any definite rules or theories as to what those functions are, but it has, what is far better, definite customs thousands of years old, the practical success of which supplies the only solid foundation upon which such rules or theories can be built. When, therefore, the British rulers of India not merely ignore the economic truth that an efficient discharge of those functions is of equal obligation with a like discharge of their political and judicial ones, but even deny the existence of any economic functions at all; when, further, they disregard or displace such ancient customs as have to a large extent given practical effect to those functions, wholly unconscious of their theoretical validity; and when, not success, but failure, attends such ignorance of theory and disregard of custom in the economic department of government, the department which, as already stated, is concerned with the increasing production and just distribution of *food*, then it can be seen that the present conflict between British and Indian opinion in India as to the success or failure of our government is not without a growing measure of justification. For no government can claim to be judged by even conspicuous success in one or two departments of government if it no less conspicuously fails in others. Its work must be judged as a whole, and that work is a failure if it leads away from, instead of towards, a *prosperous multiplica-*

tion of its entire people. While, therefore, British officialdom in India is justified, perhaps, in resenting what they deem to be an insufficient recognition of their political and judicial successes, Indian opinion is even more justified in refusing to accept any excursions into the domain of charity as a substitute for such efficient discharge of its economic duties by the Government as would make these excursions unnecessary.

Now, the object of an efficient discharge of their economic duties by Government being to enable their multiplying subjects *to provide themselves* with a continuous and abundant supply of food, and a continuous but increasing supply of comforts, one prerequisite is absolutely essential to such discharge—viz., that the actual producers of food, the cultivators, shall be protected in secure possession of their *estates* in the land they cultivate, which estates eventually and invariably come to consist of a *right of occupation and disposal of the land cultivated at a fixed produce rent*—a right, that is, to whatever surplus food or capital remains after the fixed produce rent has been paid. For unless it be recognised that rents, whether high or low, are fixed quantities of produce, merely commuted for the convenience of both payer and receiver into given sums of money, and that whatever surplus products remain after such fixed quantities have been paid are the absolute property of the tenant, these cannot possibly provide themselves with a continuous and abundant supply of food, and *so create a prosperous agriculture*, or make purchases of continuous and increasing supplies of comforts, and *so create prosperous manufacturers.*

Thus, *fixity in produce rent* is the only solid foundation upon which can be built the permanent economic development of any people, this fixity being the more necessary the poorer and more numerous such people are.

But the “estates” of rent-payers, as thus created, irresistibly invite confiscation by rent-receivers and others, until the entire “estate”—i.e., the whole surplus which should

belong to and remain with the tenant after his fixed rent has been paid—is absorbed by rises in rent or other impositions, and the cultivator is reduced from the status of a freeman and a proprietor to that of a feudal serf or tenant at will. The payment of a permanently fixed rent deprives no man of freedom, whereas the exaction of increases reduces every tenant to serfdom. But exaction such as this requires the connivance and co-operation of the State—requires, that is, that it shall violate its judicial functions by the enforcement of unjust laws or statutes. Since, however, in primitive states of society, the Government is either directed by rent-receivers or is itself a large receiver of rent, such connivance or co-operation has always been obtained, until at length even the tradition of a rent-payer's assured "estate" in the land he occupies disappears, and any revival of a claim to it is regarded as a new and unheard-of imposition.

Before, then, any Government can even begin to effectively discharge its economic functions, and thereby promote such an increasing production of capital or surplus food as is essential to the support of a multiplying people, it must first recognise the nature and extent of every cultivator's interest or "estate" in the land he cultivates, and protect him from any and every form of a rise in his produce-rent; that is, it must, as already stated, *effectively discharge its judicial functions*, not merely in respect to the integrity of its judges, but also in respect to the justice of its statutes, before it can address itself, with any hope of success, to inducing an increased production of capital through an intelligent discharge of its economic functions.

The question now is, Does the Government of India by the justice of its statutes protect its cultivators from any and every form of increase in their produce rents, and so discharge efficiently this most important of its judicial functions? For, if not, vain is it to attempt any successful discharge of its economic functions, even when it knows what these are. Unfortunately, the answer is that, so far from protecting its cultivators from any and every form of rent increases, the

Indian Government, which is the largest rent-receiver in the country, not only through its statutes makes such exactions persistently itself, by periodically increasing its assessments, but places all its forces at the disposal of whatever landlord or money-lender wishes to do so too. So that the cultivator, who is the natural prey of every other class in the community, and whose only possible protector is the Government, if it does its duty, is not only periodically fleeced by this "protector," but by whomsoever else claims its assistance in similar robberies. As a necessary consequence, the unfortunate cultivator is stripped of everything but the barest subsistence even in good years, while in bad ones he is left no alternative to starvation but the charity relief works of the State. Upon such a foundation as this, how is it possible to erect any structure of economic prosperity? A quicksand is solidity itself in comparison.

But the "tenant right" thus denied by British statutes to the cultivator has always underlain native customs as to land tenures, not in India only, but throughout the entire East, where fixity of tenure at fixed produce rents has been in the main the rule through unnumbered centuries. In China it is accepted as an axiom of Government that *its land assessments must never be raised*. Of course, where no law-courts exist, or, if they do exist, justice is not administered in them, this custom of fixity in payments by tenants must be frequently violated by powerful and rapacious chiefs. But such violations are often resisted by force, and are always condemned by whatever public opinion there is, while they have never been so persisted in by a sufficient number of delinquents as to have abrogated or superseded the custom. It is in this important respect that the whole spirit of Oriental custom in respect to land tenures is so diametrically opposed to the whole spirit of British statutes, and *it is in this respect that Indian custom is conspicuously just, and British statutes as conspicuously unjust*.

But, again, the Indian Government cannot be rightly blamed for either the spirit or the effect of its statutes,

seeing that neither it, nor Britons generally, nor, indeed, any Western civilization inheriting its legal concepts from Rome, has ever recognised (even in theory) that tenants, unprotected by written contracts, or, latterly, an Irish domicile, have any "estate" in the lands they cultivate. On the contrary, by all their statutes they deny the existence of such estate, declaring in effect that forced increases in produce rents, so far from being confiscations of the cultivator's "property," merely result either from the Government intentionally enforcing its "right" to increased assessments, the landlord to "unearned increments," the money-lender to contract debts, or from such "natural" fall in prices as automatically produces these three effects simultaneously. In either case there is complete disregard, where there is not absolute denial, of any estate, property, or interest pertaining to the cultivator in the land he cultivates.

And yet this property or estate is just as real a one as any other product of a man's industry or enterprise, and can be as little abrogated by law, however easily and unjustly it may be confiscated. For it arises from the inherent nature of rent and the right which its payment creates. But this nature has been wholly misunderstood by orthodox economists, and consequently those rights completely ignored. Rent, according to this school, arises from *differences in the fertility of soils*, and increases in rent to poorer and poorer soils being constantly brought under cultivation, such growing differences, expressed in rent, thus rightly belonging to, and being claimable by, *the owners of the superior soils*. The poorest soils in cultivation, according to this theory, pay no rent at all. This, however, is an absolutely mistaken explanation of rent, which, in its origin, has nothing to do with differences in the fertility of soil, but arises from *increases in the purchasing power of given quantities of food* (necessities) *over articles of manufacture* (conveniences and comforts). For in any given place these articles *constantly fall in value* (i.e., in the quantities of food that

must be given for them) owing to (1) competition amongst manufacturers and merchants, (2) division of labour in manufacture, (3) improvements in machinery, (4) reduction in freights. For full proof of which statement we must refer the reader to "The Science of Civilization," book i., chapters ii. and iii. As a consequence of this increase in the purchasing power of given quantities of food, a constantly smaller surplus, over what is required for his support, will maintain the cultivator in the same state of comfort, and therefore a constantly larger quantity can be exacted as rent. But seeing that such increases in purchasing power attaches as much to the quantities originally surrendered to the landlord as rent as to those retained by the tenant after his rent has been paid, it is mere greed given the form of law which enables the landlord to claim, not only such increases in purchasing power as accrue to his own just share of the produce, but also those accruing to the tenant's share as well, and thus for ever cut off the latter from all participation in the multiplying benefits of civilization, which but for such injustice could not fail to be automatically and equitably shared between them.

Now, Indian custom has constantly opposed itself, not always, of course, with success, to each of the four methods in which the above injustice obtains effect through British statutes. (1) It sets its face against increases in Government assessment, and when these were levied it not infrequently caused rebellion against them. (2) It denied any right to landlords to raise their produce rents, and in the main insured those remaining unchanged for centuries. (3) It wholly withheld from the money-lender his present power for evil by denying him any Government aid in the recovery of his loans. If he chose to lend, he did so entirely at his own risk, no security being obtainable other than pledges actually deposited or the character for honesty of the borrower. (4) It prevented movements in prices having their present grossly unjust effect upon produce contracts, by preserving the payment of rents in kind, and

not recognising, still less enforcing, their payment in fixed sums of money.

It is, therefore, only by reverting to the mild and just principles underlying native customs in respect to land tenures, and forsaking those harsh and unjust ones which are the foundation of Roman law, that the Indian Government can faithfully discharge its judicial functions; such reversion requiring it to abstain absolutely and for ever (1) from raising its own assessments, (2) from enforcing rent increases upon tenants, (3) from taking any part in the recovery of money-lenders' loans, (4) from compelling the payment of fixed money rents unless and until it so regulate its currency as to make, on an average of years, *a fixed sum of money represent a fixed quantity of food*. Thus, the efficient discharge of its judicial functions by the Indian Government does not require it to do anything which now it leaves undone, but instead to cease from doing that which now it does. Which cessation would be in complete agreement with the spirit of native custom, would immensely simplify the judicial functions of Government, and at the same time withdraw it from all co-operation in those economic crimes its participation in which now makes prosperity for the vast majority of its subjects a hopeless impossibility.

THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

We must now assume that a way is prepared by the Government, through a comprehension and discharge of its judicial functions, for a similar comprehension and discharge of its economic functions, as unless it is so prepared such discharge can in no way benefit the class of cultivators, the problem of whose poverty we are now considering. For these will see the gains that should be theirs confiscated in the future, as they have been in the past, either by the Government through increased assessments, by landlords through raised rents, or by money-lenders through secured loans. But assuming that the Government has awakened

to a sense of its judicial obligations, we can now inquire with advantage into the nature of its economic ones.

The object of these, as has already been stated, is to enable the people to provide themselves—for no Government can do this for them—(1) with a constant and abundant supply of food, (2) with a constant and increasing supply of comforts.

But cultivators (and all other classes of the community are dependent upon them) can provide themselves with a constant and abundant supply of food only when two prerequisites are available—land and water. Commonly Nature supplies both together without aid from man, but often she provides them apart, leaving it to man to bring them together, but rewarding him for so doing with crop returns many times larger in the latter case than in the former. Whenever, then, land of the former kind does not exist in quantities sufficient for the needs of the people, it rests with the Government to provide them with whatever areas of the latter kind can be made available, the higher rents obtainable from irrigated lands going far towards repaying, when they do not much more than repay, the cost of their provision.

Again, cultivators can provide themselves with a constant and increasing supply of comforts (and so maintain a growing urban population) *only when markets* wherein they can buy manufactures *are brought within their reach* (for cultivators can never travel far from their fields), and the manufactures sold in those markets *constantly fall in value*.

But these dual requisites for progressive prosperity will never even be sought for by Governments until they recognise the great economic truth, hitherto so completely ignored, that *producers of food* (provided they be free) *are the only true purchasers in the community* (all other classes being sellers or exchangers merely), while they can make purchases only with such food surpluses as remain to them after their own maintenance has been provided for. At the very root, then, of successful government in the economic department lies the provision of constantly increasing

inducements for multiplying food-producers to raise larger and larger food surpluses for the purchase of manufactures, as only so can a growing urban population be maintained. While all such inducements are necessarily built upon *that assurance as to the ownership of the surpluses raised* which such fixity in produce rents as we have just insisted on alone can give.

But even when the Government has provided irrigated land for its cultivators when unirrigated is not available, and by a discharge of its judicial functions has secured his "estate" in such land to each cultivator by protecting him from any and every form of a rise in rent, it has not yet placed him in a position to freely increase his production of surplus food or capital. For this he requires perfect freedom to cultivate whatever crop he finds most advantageous, and such freedom, as long experience proves, is *incompatible with the collection of rents in kind*. We have thus reached this peculiar position, that whereas security for cultivators demands fixity in produce payments, progress in agriculture forbids the collection of rents in kind. From this deadlock in things agricultural there is but one means of escape, viz., the commutation of fixed produce rents into fixed money payments, *provided always that such fixed money payments continue to represent, on an average of years, the original quantities of produce*. But this commutation invariably does take place by mutual agreement between rent-payer and rent-receiver whenever food prices remain stationary for any lengthened period, and the obligation to pay only fixed quantities of produce as rent is recognised. It only needs, therefore, when the latter condition is satisfied, that food prices be kept stationary for prolonged periods to insure the voluntary commutation of fixed produce rents into fixed money payments, and through such commutation the attainment of the two essential preliminaries to the increased production of food surpluses or capital, viz., fixity in produce rents and freedom to cultivate any product. Since, then, the securing of those

two essentials to the increased production of food surpluses becomes possible only through the maintenance of stability in food prices, obviously *the maintenance of stability in food prices becomes the primary economic duty of every civilized Government.* But the maintenance of stability in food prices depends upon a just regulation of the currency. Necessarily, therefore, *such a regulation of its currency as shall maintain stability in food prices becomes the primary economic duty of every civilized Government.*

We must now assume for the moment that this primary economic duty of Government is efficiently discharged, and the currency so regulated that cultivators are not only secured in possession of their "estates," but are also set free to cultivate any product. And yet even these reforms, substantial though they be, merely *permit* of an increased production of food surpluses or capital, but in no way *insure* their being produced. For this *inducements* must be offered strong enough to *tempt* cultivators to undertake the increased labour involved in their production. But such inducements are supplied in the main only by an exhibition of *manufactures* such as satisfy needs already felt or create desires that crave satisfaction, and this at values sufficiently low to tempt cultivators to raise the food surpluses necessary to purchase them.

Now, manufactures are brought within the reach of cultivators through the operations of *merchants*, whose true function in society is that of *selling agents* for manufacturers, the difference between the *cost* of these manufactures at the place of production and their *value* at the place of sale constituting the *profit* upon which merchants subsist.

These operations of merchants can be advantageously promoted by Government mainly through the provision of *constantly increasing facilities for transport*, which by stimulating competition and reducing freights enable the same articles to be sold in any given market at constantly falling values, and constantly new markets to be opened, and so increasing numbers of manufacturers and merchants

to be maintained. Thus, *the provision of increasing facilities for transport to markets becomes the second great economic duty of Government.* But this provision requires the construction and maintenance of more and better roads for carriages, of more and larger canals for boats, of more and more commodious harbours for ships, or of whatever other means for speedier and safer communication the progress of science may suggest and the revenues of Government permit. While this construction and maintenance requires in its turn the employment of *a constantly larger army of labourers and artificers*, and their employment the disbursement of constantly larger sums for wages, and, consequently, *the provision of those sums.*

To these great economic duties, the regulation of food prices and the provision of improved facilities for transport, many minor ones may be added. But these two are of such overwhelming importance as compared with all others that in this article all such may be ignored until the major ones have been fairly well provided for. We have now, therefore, only to consider (1) how the currency may be so regulated as to insure stability in food prices, (2) how money may be so provided as to pay for the needed facilities for transport.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY.

ITS REGULATION.

Seeing that the nature and regulation of a civilized currency has never been understood by any Government, that of India cannot be very severely blamed for the mistakes it has made in its attempts at such regulation. What alone has made these attempts more conspicuously futile than most is the enormous number of people affected by its experiments, and the abject poverty of the vast majority, a poverty so extreme as to make currency mistakes, when produce obligations are expressed in money and enforced by law, productive of hopeless slavery for millions when not of absolute starvation. For movements in the

value of money—that is, in the quantities of food which each unit exchanges for in markets—affect a poor community much more severely than a rich one, and most of all a poor agricultural community, almost all the members of which have come under legal obligation to pay fixed sums of money. And yet, since it is through a comprehension of what a civilized currency is, and its careful utilization for the benefit of the people, that the Indian Government can find a way out of both its own and its subjects' difficulties, it is of infinite importance that a full knowledge of this subject should be diffused. This cannot be attempted here, but only a brief statement of general principles, the inquirer desirous of further information being referred to the chapters treating of the subject in "The Science of Civilization."

The difference between a barbarous currency and a civilized one is this, that the units of the former are things *valuable in themselves*, and therefore limited in number by their nature, while those of the latter are merely *tokens of value*, and limited in number only by the will of their issuers. But the *value* of which civilized currency units are tokens are *fixed quantities of food*, against which the tokens are exchanged in markets, it depending entirely upon the number of such tokens entering markets for exchange against food what is the *price* of food, and consequently the *value* of each token in that market. Thus, *by limiting the number of tokens entering markets*, so long as the supply of food in them continues normal, it is always possible to maintain the value of civilized currency units, and concomitantly any desired average in food prices. Thus, *a civilized currency unit is valuable just in proportion to the quantity of food for which it will exchange in markets*. It is a token of food and nothing else, and remains so, no matter what the material of which it is composed. The duty of Government, therefore, is to so regulate its issue of tokens as to insure that on an average of years each token shall exchange against, and therefore represent when in

circulation, a fixed quantity of food. Such regulation as this requiring the annual issue of tokens to be rigorously limited to whatever number *experience proves to be necessary*, as experience, and experience only, can supply a safe guide in this respect.

From this explanation it is evident that the larger the quantities of food coming into markets for the purchase of manufactures, the larger the number of currency units which the Government must put into circulation in order *to keep the value of each unit from rising, and the price of food from falling*. For the Government, then, to stimulate the production of food surpluses—and it is only food surpluses that enter markets—is, as soon as the issue of currency tokens has become a recognised source of income, merely to take the easiest and most effective means of *increasing its own revenue*, and this without the exaction of any corresponding sum as taxes.

Now, the Indian Government has already taken the first and most important step towards the securing of such a revenue by converting its barbaric currency of silver coins, circulating at *their market value as bullion*, into a semi-civilized one of silver tokens, circulating at a *currency value one-third higher than their bullion value*, such enhancement being effected by limitation of issue, and such excess of currency over bullion value being *appropriated by the State as revenue*. But this revenue has been acquired not through comprehension of the true nature of a civilized currency, nor even with direct intention of deriving income from its monetary issues, but solely *as an accidental accompaniment* of an attempt to more nearly approximate the value of India's currency unit to that of a totally distinct and foreign currency unit, with which the former has no legitimate connection, and to which it is disastrous to all its main economic interests to be tied.

Although the Indian Government, then, has actually begun to discharge its primary economic obligation, the regulation of its own currency, and in so doing has begun

to derive revenue from its monetary issues, it has done so, not with the legitimate and beneficent purpose of maintaining stability in the price of Indian food, but with the illegitimate and mischievous one of maintaining stability in the rates of foreign exchange ; while the revenue which it has obtained by so doing, instead of resulting in gain both to itself and to its subjects, has imposed a burden upon the latter immensely greater than if exacted from them as taxes.

But the injury which has thus been done through ignorance—an ignorance shared, moreover, with every other civilized Government—is, happily, not only remediable, but very easily so ; for the Indian Government has merely to take one other step along the path of monetary reform *upon which it has already entered*, and gradually replace its now semi-civilized currency of *silver tokens*, each costing the State *two-thirds of its currency value*, by a wholly civilized currency of *paper rupees*, each costing the State *practically nothing at all*, to solve all the seemingly insoluble problems that now so hopelessly confront it. For it would issue these paper rupees in just such numbers as would insure stability on an average, not in the rates of foreign exchange, but in the prices of home food, and thus give *security* to cultivators, and expend these issues upon constantly increasing facilities for transport, and thus give *prosperity to cultivators, manufacturers and merchants*, and all other legitimate economic classes.

We can now see that the reforms demanded from the Indian Government to give security to its cultivators, and prosperity to them and all other legitimate classes, are in principle both very simple and very easy, such merely requiring that the Government shall be passive in certain directions where now it is active, and active in others where now it is passive. It becomes passive when it abstains (1) from raising its own rents upon sitting tenants ; (2) from collecting rents raised by landlords in the same class ; (3) from recovering money loans for money-lenders, these,

if they choose to lend otherwise than as pawnbrokers, being made to bear the whole risk of debtors making voluntary repayments. It becomes active (1) when it replaces its present semi-civilized currency of partially valueless tokens by an entirely civilized one of wholly valueless tokens ; (2) when it sustains the currency value of these latter tokens by issuing them in just such numbers as will maintain, on an average of years, stability in the price of food ; (3) when it makes its issues of these tokens through the payment of money wages to an ever-increasing army of employ  s, occupied for the most part in the provision and maintaining of constantly increasing facilities for transport alone, or for transport combined with irrigation and drainage. Such is the entire programme in outline. Let us now consider it and its effects somewhat in detail.

PASSIVE REFORMS.

1. *A Permanent Settlement.*

A permanent settlement on the lines here recommended would differ from Lord Cornwallis's celebrated statute in concerning itself, not with the Zemindari middle-men, but only with actual cultivators holding direct from the State, and could only arise from a recognition by the Government of the true nature of rent and the rights which its payment creates, it henceforth being deemed as much an act of robbery to confiscate any part of a cultivator's just estate or interest in the land he tills by a rise of rent or assessment as to take from him by force or fraud any other property now recognised as his. The statute in which such rights were first acknowledged would constitute the Magna Charta of Indian agriculturists, and perform an act of justice as well as of policy, which the patient myriads of India have needed so sorely and awaited so long, and which, it may safely be said, they could not hope to obtain from any other rulers under heaven, native or foreign, save their present ones. Nor would such an act of justice diminish the revenue of the State, either now or in the

future, but would, on the contrary, be the means of enormously increasing it. Of this we shall presently learn.

2. *Perpetuity Rents.*

The abstention of the Government, *for the reasons given*, from all future increases in assessment on sitting tenants would carry with it as a corollary a refusal to enforce for landlords *any increases of rent upon the same class*, and so convert all tenants at will, at arbitrary rents, into perpetuity tenants at fixed produce rents, which measure would deprive landlords of nothing that is justly theirs—not even of their past confiscations—but merely prevent them from appropriating *in the future* property that never was theirs, but always rightly belonged to their tenants. But these two reforms, important as they are, would be practically valueless without the third.

3. *Non-Recovery of Debts.*

To secure an acceptance of this reform, not as an act of policy merely, though it is that in the fullest degree, but as an act of justice, will be a more difficult matter than in the two previous cases. For during the life of the present generation a great change has come over Western, or at least British, opinion in respect to land tenures, the rights of agricultural tenants being now legally recognised in many directions where formerly they were scornfully denied. Not that such recognition results from any acceptance of truer economic principles, for Western opinion is now more hopelessly at sea in respect to such principles than perhaps it has ever been before, the time-honoured rule of “might being right” having become partially discredited, while that of “right being might” has not yet become even partially understood. It is due rather to the pressure of circumstances, of which the two dominant ones are an increase in the political power of tenants and a decrease in the money price of their labour products. Together these “circumstances” have compelled an acceptance in law,

though not yet in theory, that rent is in some way concerned with fixed quantities of produce, and not exclusively with arbitrary sums of money, this new conception accounting for the average reductions in Irish money rents agreeing roughly with the average fall in food prices, while the old one is responsible for the farcical reasons given for these reductions, and the often absurd discrepancies in them on even adjoining farms.

But while in Great Britain circumstances have thus compelled a legal revolution in respect to the relations between landlord and tenant, no such necessity has yet arisen in respect to those between creditor and debtor; habit, which has so long accustomed Western peoples to consider it a duty of the State to collect private debts and enforce private contracts, not having yet been confronted with a sufficiency of opposing facts to convince them of the falsity of this opinion. In India, however, the position is exactly reversed. For while in Great Britain the dominant factor is manufacture, and not agriculture, and in agriculture the landlord, and not the money-lender—no tenant, save in Ireland, having any such “property” in his holding as allows him to pledge it as security—in India, on the contrary, the dominant economic factor is agriculture, and not manufacture, and in agriculture the money-lender, and not the landlord. For the cultivator there possesses just sufficient “property” in his holding, customary or statutory, to enable him to pledge it as security, and accordingly he does so pledge it, in the vast majority of cases, to the fullest extent open to him. To this he is continuously driven by the pressure of irresistible circumstances, such as short crops, marriage or funeral customs, religious rites, ill health, personal extravagance, etc., while against this pressure he has no defence in the form of business capacity or trained foresight. Whatever the margin, then, of realizable interest he possesses in his holding over and above the requirements of State assessment or landlord’s rent he is all but certain to eventually pledge to the money-lender. Nor, so long as

the law assists the money-lender to realize such pledges, is it possible to put a check upon this process, or on the consequent ruin which it entails upon the cultivator. Nothing, indeed, can prevent it save such inability on the part of the money-lender to recover his advances as must follow the withdrawal of all State aid toward the realization of his mortgages. For under these circumstances the money-lender would sink back into his natural and innoxious position of pawnbroker, who acquires no rights over the person or future labour products of the borrower, but solely over such transferable chattels as are deposited with him as pledges.

The extent to which this evil has developed in India *solely through the operations of British statutes* may be realized when it is understood that in the Presidency of Bombay nearly 90 per cent. of the Government assessments, rightly due from the cultivators, are now found by their money-lending creditors, who have acquired such rights over those cultivators as have reduced them from a position of comparative freedom and independence to one of hopeless and crushing servitude — such servitude, indeed, as leaves the miserable debtors insufficiently fed even in years of plenty, while in those of scarcity they are cast in starving millions upon the charity of the Government. In the Punjab the indebtedness of the cultivators is so widespread, and the consequences of giving full effect to the legal rights of the money-lenders so appalling, that the Government has shrunk from enforcing its own statutes, and is now attempting to mitigate their effects by other statutes which diminish the pledging powers of the cultivators in respect to their holdings. It thus acknowledges the evils which its statutes produce while remaining blind to their true nature, and thinks by placing ineffective restraints upon the freedom of cultivators it may still continue to participate in the iniquities of money-lenders. Thus circumstances have forced the relation of creditor and debtor in India into equal prominence with those of landlord and tenant in Ireland, and so have made Indian public

opinion as ripe for a statutory revolution in the former relations as was Irish in the early seventies and since, respecting the latter ones.

Already, then, *policy* declares against a continuance of the Government assistance now rendered to the usurer, while the christianized consciences of to-day revolt against the effect of statutes which are yet by the vast majority of British believed to be agreeable to the "moral law." It only needs to be shown, then, that such statutes, so far from being agreeable to any moral law acknowledged by Christians, are in open violation of it, being merely the surviving tags and rags of such Roman conceptions as aimed at reducing all classes in the State to two—masters and slaves—to insure an end being put to a series of economic crimes which are not merely an open scandal to Christian rulers, but entail the gravest possible danger upon the State. For such a reconciliation between policy and law we must refer inquirers to "The Science of Civilization" (Book III., chap. vii.), since we have no room for it here, while for a further application of the policy we must await our consideration of the active reforms required from the Government. Before leaving this subject, however, it is necessary to point to one of the disastrous effects of such statutes as reduce the Government to the status of debt-collectors for usurers.

India being at present almost exclusively an agricultural community, one of the first economic requisites for prosperity is a development of local manufactures. But such development is only possible through the operations of merchants who carry on their business by investing large sums of money in the purchase of stock from manufacturers for sale at a profit to customers. Until such sums of money have accumulated, then, as savings, no considerable development in manufactures is possible. But these accumulations naturally and necessarily take place in every fairly progressive community, while equally naturally and necessarily they gradually seek employment by merchants, as obtaining

through them the safest and largest returns. Should, however, any action of the Government artificially attach to some other occupation the superior attractions of still larger and much safer returns, inevitably the great bulk of savings as they accumulate will gravitate to this new occupation, and either be withdrawn from or no longer seek employment in commercial ventures. And this is just what has happened in India, where, since the Mutiny, the assured supremacy of British law, and the increasing comprehension by the more intelligent natives of its financial possibilities, have succeeded in diverting the main stream of Indian savings from investment in manufactures through merchants to investment on mortgages through money-lenders. Of necessity, then, local manufactures and commerce have languished, while money-lending to cultivators has flourished, to the incalculable loss of both Indian agriculture and Indian manufacture. Nor is it possible for the latter to revive so long as this safer and more lucrative investment is permitted to compete with it for the employment of India's money savings—so long, that is, as Government relieves the money-lender of all risk of loss, though securing to him exorbitant profits, while leaving the merchant, as necessarily he must be left, constantly liable to loss, and without assurance as to any profit at all.

Once let the Government, however, withdraw its present support from money-lenders, leaving them free to lend money to cultivators if they choose, but to recover it as best they may, and immediately the naturally attractive powers of manufacture and commerce for deposits seeking investment will again assert themselves, and such deposits, as they accumulate, will once more apply that stimulus to industry and trade of which the country stands so sorely in need, and of which it has been artificially deprived for so long.

Necessarily, however, a re-accumulation of the vast sums diverted from commerce by British statutes, and now sunk in mortgages on land, to the ruin of Indian agriculture and the enslavement of Indian cultivators, must be a very slow

process, especially in view of the present general state of economic depression. But the country cannot afford to wait for this slow re-accumulation, seeing that what it requires is a speedy application of large sums to the encouragement of manufacturers and trade. In medical terms, it is an active tonic that is needed, since the recuperative powers of a subject so anæmic are too feeble to suffice unaided. Happily, however, just such a tonic stands ready for administration by the Government as soon as it realizes the true nature of a civilized currency and its own duties and powers respecting it. What this tonic is, and how it must be administered, we shall learn a little later on.

ACTIVE REFORMS.

1. *The Creation of a Civilized National Currency.*

Happily, the first and most difficult step towards this has already been taken by the Indian Government, when, in 1893, it stopped the free coinage of silver into rupees, and so, by diminishing the number in circulation, raised the value of each coined rupee above that of the silver composing them. It thus at one stroke transformed its hitherto *valuable currency of equivalents* into a *partially valueless one of tokens*. So that now it needs nothing to complete this operation save to *discard what remains of intrinsic value in its tokens*, and compose them of a wholly valueless material, such as paper. For by so doing it at once raises the revenue it now derives from its token issues from one-third of the value at which they pass current in markets to the whole of such value, and this without injury to a single interest in the community. By this reform the Government would at once create that first essential to general, as opposed to class, prosperity, a valueless national currency.

2. *The Issue of National Currency-Tokens in such Numbers shall maintain, on an Average, Stability in the Price of Food.*

Experience teaches that the great danger inseparable from a valueless currency is that of *over-issue by the Government*.

Which danger can be avoided only on two conditions: 1. That the moral tone of the community is sufficiently high to condemn all abuse of the issuing power. 2. That this power shall not be entrusted to the Executive, but to an independent and highly-paid Currency Board, composed of men of the highest character and holding their appointments for life or during good behaviour, as with British judges, and so secured, as far as is humanly possible, against the influences either of corruption or of coercion. This Board would determine the annual volume of the currency issues, but would hand over their issues when determined to the Executive, which would alone be responsible for their expenditure.

What annual sum these issues would amount to can only be determined by actual experience. All we can do here is to attempt to reduce to figures the several causes which compel issues to be made at all. Those causes are —

a. The withdrawal from circulation of the savings of depositors, which withdrawals must be made good if the price of food is to be maintained.

b. The increase in population, each individual of which requires for expenditure a certain number of currency tokens, varying with the position of the community in the scale of civilization and of the individual in the community. If these additions be not provided, the same, or a smaller number of currency tokens, have to supply the want of a larger population, thus insuring a general fall in prices.

c. The larger expenditure upon comforts (manufactures) accompanying every increase in general prosperity, which expenditure requires a corresponding issue of currency tokens if the price of food is not to fall.

d. The increased use of money per head following the gradual withdrawal of Government aid from the collection of private debts—from the disuse, that is, of illegitimate credits, which are those that cannot certainly be recovered except with the help of the State.

a. Yearly Accumulation of Deposits in India.—What the annual savings of Indian depositors may amount to it is impossible to determine, but owing to the recent researches of Mr. Digby, C.I.E., and others, into the economic condition of agricultural India, it is plain that the estimate made in "The Science of Civilization," of R. 1 per head, or Rs. 300,000,000 per annum for the whole country, is too high. Perhaps one-third of this sum, or Rs. 100,000,000, might not be excessive. Whatever it amounts to, however (in France it is supposed to rise as high as £2 per head), the demand for yearly additions to the currency from this cause is the largest which the Government has to supply. It is, therefore, to its direct advantage to offer increasing facilities for the withdrawals of depositors by the multiplication of savings banks of unlimited receptivity (upon which banks alone cheques could be drawn), and the suppression of all practices tending to restore those deposits to the circulation *against the will or without the consent of their owners*. For every currency unit so restored prevents the issue of a new token by the Government, and so proportionately reduces the income of the State.

b. The Annual Increase in Population.—Prior to the recent devastating famines, this amounted in India to about 3,000,000 a year, for which, if we take Rs. 10 a head, or Rs. 30,000,000 a year for their total money requirements, we shall be employing a very low figure. This demand would necessarily increase proportionately to every increase in the population, so that growth in numbers, so far from increasing, as at present, the unremunerative expenditure of the Government, would be a source of *constantly growing revenue*.

c. The Larger Expenditure upon Comforts (Manufactures).—Were India a prosperous country, this item should represent a considerable and increasing demand for additional money issues; but not being so, it will be more prudent to set nothing against it. It must not be forgotten, however, how large are the revenue possibilities which this item

covers. For not a single individual throughout the length and breadth of the land can improve his economic position—that is, supply himself with additional comforts—without a corresponding expenditure of money ; while such increased expenditure on comforts, *unless provided for by additional Government issues*, must be accompanied by a lessened expenditure on food, and therefore general fall in food prices.

d. The Increased Use of Money per Head following the Disuse of Illegitimate Credits.—*Illegitimate credits* are those which, both for the giving and repayment, are dependent upon State recovery. Of such are credits between shopkeepers and customers, between money-lenders and cultivators, such interference of the State always leading immediately or ultimately to *a decrease in the use of and demand for money*.

Legitimate credits are those which will be given and repaid entirely independent of State recovery. Of such are credits between merchants and shopkeepers, between investors and merchants, every extension of such credits leading to *an increase in the use of and demand for money*. Necessarily, then, as soon as money issues become a source of revenue to the State it is to its financial advantage to discourage illegitimate credits by ceasing to assist in their recovery, and encourage legitimate ones by remitting all charges upon them ; so that again policy for the Government and prosperity for its subjects agree completely about the same measures.

While it is certain, however, that the disuse of illegitimate credits in India would lead eventually to a large increase in the demand for money, it is not possible at present to reduce this demand to figures. This item too, therefore, must be left out of our present estimate, which will now stand as under :

ANNUAL ADDITIONS TO THE INDIAN CURRENCY REQUIRED
TO KEEP THE PRICE OF FOOD STABLE.

	Rs.
(a) To make good the yearly withdrawals of depositors ...	100,000,000
(b) To allow for the growth of population	30,000,000
(c) To provide for increased expenditure on comforts ...	(?)
(d) To make up for the disuse of illegitimate credits	(?)
	<hr/>
	130,000,000

That this estimate is far below even the present requirements of India I have little doubt. That it is still farther below what those requirements would speedily become were the economic duties of government intelligently discharged is an absolute certainty. But it sufficiently serves as an illustration of the principles here set out, and will serve as a peg to hang the rest of our arguments upon. It pretends to no further validity.

Assuming, then, Rs. 130,000,000 per annum to be the revenue derivable at present from the paper issues, let us see first how such issues can best be made *acceptable to the country* before proceeding to inquire how they can best be spent so as to yield the largest returns in an *increased demand for yet larger issues*.

To secure the willing acceptance of a currency of paper rupees by the people of India, issued in such small sums as Rs. 130,000,000 a year, would be a very easy task for the Government. For out of its total revenue of over Rs. 1,000,000,000, Rs. 270,000,000, or more than one-fourth, is derived from land assessments. The offer, then, as a temporary inducement, of a small discount on all assessments paid in paper rupees instead of silver coins, as well, of course, as their acceptance in discharge of all other taxes, would create an eager demand amongst cultivators for this form of money, while such demand would insure its currency amongst merchants and manufacturers, through

whose operations it is that money passes into circulation. Nor would such inducement need to be long continued, as the superior portability and convenience of paper money over metallic would speedily insure acceptance for its own sake, *always provided that its market value was maintained by a strict accordance of issues to the absorptive power of the people.*

It is, of course, obvious that the currency here advocated is a purely *national*, and not in any way an *international*, one. Neither the money units themselves *nor their material* would possess any purchasing power outside the limits of their monetary validity. By many this will be regarded as a serious disadvantage, but when the true purposes of a currency are better understood it will be recognised as one of its chief merits, for the conception of a universal international currency is nothing but a money-lender's millennium, which, however profitable to the usurer, is eventually fatal to the prosperity of every other class. Internationality in money substitutes, for the blessing of a fair exchange of diverse labour products between nations, the desolating curse of a competition for identical money units in which members of the most advanced civilizations, handicapped by their own advantages, are forced to accept the same prices as satisfy their least advanced, or even most barbarous, competitors. Internationality in money is, indeed, necessarily fatal to reciprocity in trade, and has no other merit than that of enabling the owners of idle deposits to extract from foreigners a rate of interest higher than is obtainable at home, and so escape from the otherwise unavoidable obligation of promoting the industries and commerce of their own country.

3. *The Expenditure of New Issues upon the Provision*
 (a) *of Transport Facilities for Merchants, (b) of Irriga-*
tion and Drainage Facilities for Cultivators.

(a) *Transport Facilities for Merchants.*—We have already explained that the principal means by which any Government can induce its cultivators to raise larger surpluses of

food for the support of a growing urban population is to enable merchants to bring manufactures more cheaply within their reach, since the desire to possess themselves of such manufactures is the great motor power that impels cultivators to raise the increased food surpluses necessary to buy them; while the principal means whereby any Government can enable merchants to sell manufactures more cheaply in any given market is *to provide them with constantly increasing facilities for transport*. This, therefore, was shown to be the second great economic duty of every progressive Government, the first being the maintenance of stability, on an average, in the price of food.

Happily, however, the performance of this latter duty itself provides ample means for a discharge of the former; for the new issues of money necessary to maintain the price of food in markets can most directly and certainly accomplish this purpose by being put into circulation *through the payment of wages to an ever-growing army of Government employés engaged in constructing and maintaining increasing facilities for transport and communication of every kind, the number of employés so engaged being determined by the extent of the annual issues of new currency tokens which provide their wages*.

Now, the extent of those issues when first undertaken we have estimated to amount to Rs. 130,000,000 a year. This sum, therefore, we may assume to be immediately available for expenditure on improved facilities for transport directly the Indian Government begins to discharge its two primary economic duties.

The question now is, How had this sum best be spent? In addition to the present expenditure, or in relief of it? The answer does not admit of a doubt. Since, if added to the present expenditure, the gain to the country is just the amount of the addition, but if, while still devoted to the same purpose, it is deducted from it, the gain is just twice the addition; for not only are all the benefits of the new expenditure secured, but also relief from a corresponding

amount of old taxation. From which, then, of the several items of Indian expenditure should the deduction be made? I hope to show that to this question also there can be but one answer.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE FOR 1898-99.

Political.

		Rs.	Rs.
Army ... ..	...	245,000,000	
Administration ... ..	...	30,000,000	
Pensions ... ..	...	17,000,000	
Collection ... ..	...	30,000,000	
		<hr/>	322,000,000

Judicial.

Law and Police ... ..	...	82,000,000	
Pensions ... ..	...	6,000,000	
Collection ... ..	...	10,000,000	
		<hr/>	98,000,000

Economic.

Railways ... ..	...	250,000,000	
Irrigation, Navigation ... ..	...	37,000,000	
Roads, Buildings, etc. ... ..	...	60,000,000	
Post-Office, Telegraph ... ..	...	30,000,000	
Famine Relief ... ..	...	10,000,000	
Interest ... ..	...	30,000,000	
Pensions ... ..	...	31,000,000	
Collection ... ..	...	60,000,000	
		<hr/>	508,000,000

Social.

Educational ... ..	...	16,000,000	
Ecclesiastical ... ..	...	1,700,000	
Medical ... ..	...	16,000,000	
Scientific ... ..	...	5,300,000	
Pensions ... ..	...	3,000,000	
Collection ... ..	...	5,000,000	
		<hr/>	47,000,000
			<hr/>
			975,000,000

Now, we must assume that this total expenditure of Rs. 975,000,000 is made with a reasonable amount of care and economy, and that the Indian Government, when

sanctioning it, believes that no considerable item can be omitted, or even largely reduced, without immediate or ultimate detriment to the country. It is of no use, therefore, for those who are not responsible for the Government to assert that this or that item can be curtailed or cut wholly away, for the only outcome of this attitude is flat contradiction by the party without executive power of that with it, and the consequently contemptuous disregard of the former's opinions by the latter. The Government being completely masters of the situation, no reform can be effected without their consent and co-operation. It is, consequently, essential that both be secured, and, since it must be supposed that the great body of Indian officials have really the welfare of the country at heart, this task should not be difficult if a fairly promising measure be placed before them which does not require too violent a rupture with all the traditions of the service. The scheme here presented for their consideration would seem to entirely fulfil these conditions, and so should have, when thoroughly understood, a reasonable prospect of acceptance, for it involves no immediate reduction in expenditure, though a very considerable one in taxation. It does not even require a redistribution of details, still less any general change in policy—nothing more, indeed, than the acceptance of a present sum of Rs. 130,000,000 a year as revenue, certain to be largely increased in the future, and obtained without taxation, in substitution of an equal sum obtained by means of it, the payment of this sum to a particular body of men as wages, and their employment in a particular way, such payment effecting a corresponding reduction in taxation, and such employment insuring a corresponding addition to the transport facilities of the State.

Now, there is only one item, in all the above details of expenditure, to the reduction of which this Rs. 130,000,000 a year of taxless revenue can be applied that is capable of yielding the above dual results. This item is *the army*; for a free contribution of Rs. 130,000,000 a year towards

its cost would reduce the burden of its up-keep by exactly that sum, while the *employment of the army itself*, or so much of it as it is found possible to utilize in this way, *in the construction and maintenance of increasing facilities for transport*, supplies the country with additional aids to prosperity obtainable in no other way.

To many it may appear a novel idea to employ an army in this economic way; to others an impossible one that an army so employed could fulfil its primary political purpose of defence. But experience has proved that both these ideas are erroneous, for at present the Russians employ their soldiers largely in the work of railway construction, while in the past the Roman Empire was mainly indebted to its legionaries for its magnificent system of roads. Nor does devotion to such works detract from the soldierly capacity of troops; on the contrary, especially under the conditions of modern warfare, where the spade has become such an essential accompaniment of the rifle, it would immensely increase it. Whoever has any practical acquaintance with the training of soldiers must know how large a part of their time is now spent on drills which have no other purpose than to keep them out of mischief. But the hours, days, months and years so spent would be of incalculable service to the State if devoted to works of public utility instead of to useless and time-killing exercises. That officers and men so employed would require a higher rate of pay than at present is more than probable, but even so the works constructed in their now wasted hours would immeasurably outweigh any extra remuneration. Of course, sufficient time would still be devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of military efficiency, *but no more than sufficient*, while the attainment of such efficiency might be hastened by its being made a prerequisite to the *privilege* of earning the higher pay bestowed on those engaged in public works. Under these circumstances regiments would deserve, and should be awarded, as much honour for the successful completion of

some great public work, such as the construction of an important canal or of a crop-saving reservoir, as if they took part in some notable battle, while assuredly the skill acquired in the former work would stand them in good stead when attacking a foe or defending themselves in the latter. It need hardly be said that, in reconciling the army itself to such reproductive employment, the greatest tact and discretion would need to be exercised, all compulsion being avoided—since neither officers nor men were enlisted for this purpose—but the strongest and most attractive inducements offered; while these, if sufficiently strong, both as to honour and pay, would speedily, not merely reconcile all ranks to such new occupation, but make it most eagerly coveted.

By thus utilizing the vast but now wholly unproductive powers of the Indian Army, no ground would be left for complaint as to its needless numbers or excessive cost. On the contrary, every year would see these numbers increase to the satisfaction of all, the defensive powers of the State being constantly augmented, not only with no additional cost to the country, but with enormous economic gain. What this gain would amount to in mere money-saving may best be realized by turning to the table of Indian Expenditure, and noting that the total cost of the army, of the pensions it gives rise to, and of collecting the sums which provide such cost, *would gradually disappear as political and unproductive expenditure provided by taxation, to reappear as economic or reproductive expenditure provided without any taxation at all.*

(b) *Irrigation and Drainage Facilities for Cultivators.*—We have already sufficiently emphasized the necessity of providing transport facilities for merchants as the only means of inducing cultivators to raise large surpluses of food for purchase. But where food for maintenance cannot be raised continuously for lack of water, and yet there is a large population to support, a supply of this essential plainly becomes a prior requisite even to facilities for transport; and

this is the condition of very large areas of even densely populated provinces in India. For it is plain that cultivators must be enabled to provide themselves with food for maintenance before they can produce surpluses for purchase. But when so provided, the surpluses that can be raised on irrigated land are many times larger than any that can be raised on unirrigated, and consequently such land can be let at much higher rents. But Indian experience has proved that neither can these rents be obtained nor will such increased surpluses be raised, even when water is provided, if markets be not brought within reach by increased facilities for transport. For in such a case food surpluses, even when raised, cannot be utilized by the cultivator. To secure the full economic benefits of irrigation, therefore, navigation, or other transport facilities, must be made an accompaniment of irrigation; that is, if roads or railways are not available, the irrigation canals conveying the water-supply must be made available for navigation as well. But when this is done the economic benefits secured far exceed any resulting from the single supply of facilities either for transport or for irrigation. Thus, by the provision of irrigation canals available also for navigation the largest possible returns are obtained from any expenditure of money. For not only can a much larger population be sustained on any given area when irrigated, but ample inducement is provided to each cultivator, by the proximity of a market, to utilize to the utmost the enormous increase in the productive powers of the soil.

In this way, and in this way only, can the present pressing economic needs of India be met. For now millions of her people are kept in such hopeless poverty as leaves them ever on the borders of actual starvation for lack of two essentials—water for irrigation and cheaper facilities for transport—and both of these essentials are offered *free of cost* through the proposals here set out for the just regulation of the currency and the economic employment of the army.

By this means of obtaining money and this means of expending it, all controversy is avoided as to the present excessive expenditure on railways, amounting to Rs. 250,000,000 a year, and the insufficient expenditure on irrigation and navigation, amounting together to no more than Rs. 37,000,000 a year; for the latter item would be immediately increased by an annual expenditure of Rs. 130,000,000, always tending to increase, while no necessity would arise for a reduction in the former. Nor would the Government attempt to derive revenue from the works so constructed other than what was obtained from the first letting of the irrigated land. The use of the canals should be absolutely free, the gain to the State coming solely from *the constantly increased demand for larger issues of money* necessitated by growth in the numbers and improvement in the prosperity of the people.

The annual expenditure of an extra Rs. 130,000,000 upon works of irrigation and navigation—expended, moreover, without any thought of direct monetary returns, so that the question, "Will it pay the State?" need never be asked, but only, "Will it save the people?"—would speedily change the face of India, making what is now too often a desert blossom as the rose, and many blades of grass grow where now so frequently there are none at all. For the water-supply of India is ample for all her requirements, it only requiring to be diverted from her rivers, stored up from her rainfall, and distributed where needed over her fields, to secure such an abundance of food as shall leave no single human being wanting it. But this happy state of things cannot be realized except the money-lender's grip be loosened from the throat of the cultivators, since, failing this, no matter how much his surroundings are improved, he himself must remain a miserable debtor delivered over to the cruel mercies of his tormentor. This necessity for releasing the cultivator from his present bondage brings us to the last suggestion on our programme.

4. *The Relief of Agricultural Indebtedness and Promotion of Industrial Development.*

Dirt is said to be simply matter in the wrong place. But this definition avails nothing unless the matter is removed from the wrong place, where it is destructive of life, and deposited in the right place, where, as a fertilizer, it becomes productive of food. Similarly, *an Indian money-lender is nothing but a merchant in the wrong place.* Remove his present inducement to injure the community as a money-lender, and the law of self-preservation will compel him to turn his energies and business capacities to benefiting it as a merchant; for he will find no other occupation open to him in which he can so easily obtain satisfactory returns upon his deposits, while his occupation as a merchant obliges him to stimulate industry by buying manufactures from wage-earners and selling them to customers.

But, for the encouragement of manufacture, which is one of the great economic needs of India, *deposits of money must be obtainable by merchants.* Now, the greater part of all Indian deposits are sunk in mortgages upon land or other advances to cultivators, while, as already pointed out, for their reaccumulation many years would be required. In present circumstances, therefore, no such industrial stimulus as is needed can be applied, since the necessary deposits are wanting, these being hung round the necks of Indian cultivators much as was the dead albatross round that of the Ancient Mariner. What, then, can be done? The situation suggests the answer: Let the Government *repay in paper rupees to the money-lender his otherwise lost deposits.* Let it free the cultivator from his present burden of interest, and *devote whatever annual sum it is thought advisable to require from him to the redemption of those notes.*

In this way the deposits needed to stimulate Indian industries will be provided, and placed in the hands of the

only men who can everywhere apply this stimulus with advantage. At the same time, the crushing pressure of ruinous annual exactions would be removed from cultivators, and no larger sums required from them than they could reasonably meet. Nor should this operation, vast as it doubtless would be, result in flooding the circulation with paper money. For the men who would thus recover their advances are not of the spendthrift type, but capable men of business whose incomes would depend upon the returns they could obtain from their investments, while such investments must take the form, in the main, of purchases of manufactures for sale or of vehicles in which to transport them. Whatever the gross sum thus repaid to these men, but a very small part of it could find its way into the circulation yearly. Much, indeed, might never reach it at all, but remain accumulated in private hoards, while the total of whatever was put into circulation would be largely reduced by the yearly repayments of cultivators necessarily withdrawn from it.

We have now completed our suggestions for the economic salvation of India, which suggestions we briefly recapitulate here :

PASSIVE MEASURES.

1. Abstention of the Government from raising its assessments on sitting tenants.
2. Refusal to enforce payment of raised rents for landlords.
3. Abstention from the collection of money-lenders' loans.

ACTIVE MEASURES.

1. The creation of a national paper currency.
2. The issue of this currency in quantities sufficient to maintain stability on an average in the price of food.
3. The expenditure of these issues through pay to soldiers engaged in the construction and maintenance of facilities for water transport and irrigation.

4. The return of their loans to money-lenders, and the devotion of such moderate repayments as are required from cultivators to the discharge of these loans.

As these reforms are carried out, many others, no doubt, would suggest themselves, all tending to reduce the need for taxation and to increase the demand for new issues of money. So that even though the revenue receipts remained the same, the burden of taxation would be constantly lessened.

Few of those who have the welfare of India at heart, and have made any study of her needs, but must recognise how completely these reforms would transform the condition of the country, and how enormously they would add to its prosperity. Nor do any of them run counter to the customs of the people or to such educated economic opinion as has sought to ascertain the root principles of national prosperity.

THE CURRENCY POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

BY A. ROGERS.

BEFORE entering upon a discussion of this important but imperfectly understood subject, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the meaning of Exchange.

Exchange, then, is a medium for remitting money from one country to another in payment for merchandise or for other purposes by means of paper credit, and thus saving the expense and trouble of sending bullion or cash or goods that will fetch cash in the market. It is thus a form of commodity the value of which is regulated by the ordinary laws of demand and supply, and does not regulate the value or price of other commodities. The value of the latter, or, in other words, the cash price it will fetch in the market, depends on the demand for and supply of each of them under its own peculiar circumstances, the price of one not directly affecting the price of another. The relative value of two commodities resolves itself on analysis into one of demand and supply. Take, for example, that of the precious metals, gold and silver, which are used for purposes of coinage by all civilized nations. There was nothing in their natural value as metals, except that the latter was more subject to oxidization than the former, and therefore less useful for some purposes, to make one more desirable than the other; but when several of the foremost nations in the world, in consequence, probably, of increasing production of gold in Australia and elsewhere, bethought themselves of adopting it for their coinage in place of silver, the greater demand for the former and the less for the latter that resulted tended to raise the price of gold and lower that of silver. The quantity of silver required for coinage as the medium of the expression of value in the parts of the world using gold as their standard thus diminishing,

those that had a silver standard had, in payment for commodities taken from the former, to send a larger quantity of silver for what was valued in gold, and the value of the former in terms of the latter thus fell. India, a silver using country, had consequently to give more of its coinage in proportion when paying for commodities the value of which was measured in gold, although that of its own commodities in its own silver coinage remained as before. As the value of silver as measured by gold continued to fall, the Government of the country had to give more of its coinage to send home to England in order to meet its home charges payable in gold wherewith to obtain Bills of Exchange that would give it gold for that purpose. Its treasury was thus more and more depleted, and more and more money had to be obtained in revenue to make up the deficiency. There was no knowing where this would end, and how much more might have to be expended in remitting the necessary funds if a limit was not placed to this. The device hit upon by an expert Commission for this purpose was to create an artificial deficiency of coined silver, so as to make it worth the while of people remitting to India to pay more for the privilege of receiving money there in place of having to send bullion or goods wherewith to meet payments, or, in other words, to raise the rate of exchange. The calculation for this purpose had, of course, to be accurately made, in order not to make it more expensive or troublesome than the sending of bullion or goods would have been. The device was that of closing the mints in India and making coined silver scarcer, and thus worth the while of remitters to pay more for it than they would have for the coinage of silver bars into rupees, which was till then allowed on payment of the ordinary mintage dues. The limit was fixed at a shilling and fourpence, or sixteen pence, per rupee in place of the nominal rate of twenty-four pence, the gold value that the rupee bore when the price of silver and gold was about the same.

How has this affected the silver value of produce and

other things in India? In our opinion, in no way whatever. The rate of exchange does not depend on it, but on the demand of remitters for accommodation. Exchange adjusts itself, and if the rate to which the currency policy of Government forced it up by closing the mints had been too high considering all circumstances, that accommodation would not be made use of. It has nothing to do with the relative value of gold and silver, and consequently does not affect the price of produce or other commodities in India, which is regulated by what these will fetch in the markets of the world. Mr. Jamsetjee N. Wadia, in a pamphlet lately published, has endeavoured to make out that it has the effect of lowering prices in India, maintaining that an Indian commodity, say wheat, although worth Rs. 21 for a pound sterling in England, only yields him 15 in India, because the value of the sovereign there is fixed at that sum at the exchange rate of 1s. 4d. the rupee. But the Rs. 21 are the gold value of the goods; why should the producer not get whatever is the equivalent of this in silver rupees from the merchant who exports it? We maintain that he does get it; for if one merchant will not give what it is worth we may be certain that another will, else what would be the meaning and object of trade?

Mr. Pennington, in his letter published in the September number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly*, argues that whereas the producer would have received Rs. 20 before the exchange rate was raised for a pound's worth of wheat at 20s. a quarter, he will now receive only Rs. 15. But what he sells is not a pound's worth but Rs. 20 worth, and he will take care to get his Rs. 20 from the exporting merchant before he sells it, and not wait for the Rs. 15 when the money is remitted to India; if he himself exports it, he will take care to get as much gold as will fetch him his Rs. 20. He has, of course, to sell his produce in order to pay his assessment to the State, but he will do so only at such a price as will realize for him its value in the market price of the world according to Indian currency.

As for the assertion by Mr. Wadia that the State exacts from him 30 per cent. additional in taxation in a depreciated currency, the simple answer is that he pays the same number of rupees that he did before, and the value of those rupees remains as it was in the country. He has no occasion to send it out of the country in order to measure it against gold, nor does he do so. The rupees he pays to the State are the Indian rupees, and not a certain weight of silver which, when sent to England, is weighed for valuation against gold. The idea that the Indian taxpayer is being ruined because the State is exacting from him more than its lawful dues is thus a piece of simple imagination on his part. The method of argument by which he endeavours to prove his point is characteristically slipshod. The intrinsic gold value of the silver in a rupee being $11\frac{1}{2}$ d., the taxpayer still has had to pay 16 pence (1s. 4d.), which is the exchange and not the Indian value; the taxpayer, viz., the Indian *rayat*, although he pays in India currency, is said to pay the equivalent of English currency, or 30 per cent. more than he ought, which is absurd on the face of it. There is no limit to the absurdities into which men may be led through not understanding the difference between the rupee as a coin of legal tender in the country and as a representative of gold in the exchange when its equivalent in the latter is to be remitted to England. India is said (by Mr. Wadia) to have paid £23,000,000 more than it ought to have paid, presumably by the difference in exchange between 11d. and 1s. 4d. the rupee, in consequence of the closing of the mints, on a sum which, not having his pamphlet at hand to refer to, we cannot identify. Was it not to save loss by exchange that the rate was forced up? The sum of £3,000,000 must, it is said, be added to this as the profit on the coinage of 17 crores of rupees, presumably because they were remitted and not issued, and thus caused a loss to the Indian Exchequer, the two losses together amounting to 26 millions. Deducting the hypothetical surplus of over

6 millions, to which, if it had not been for the famine, the surplus in the Indian Budget for 1899-1900 would have amounted according to Lord G. Hamilton's Budget statement in Parliament, from this £26,000,000 of loss, as the Budget for 1894-1895 was balanced when exchange was at 13 pence per rupee, it is said that it would have cost only about 5 crores for the remittance of $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions to England (?) instead of 25 crores, which it cost at 16 pence, a difference of 25 crores, and it is asked where this hypothetical sum has gone. It may well be asked, considering that it never existed.

But the absurdity does not stop here. We are supposed to be now paying the Services of India, inclusive of natives, about 22 crores of rupees at the exchange rate of 16 pence, which we are not, as we pay them in silver rupees, and to be making them thus a present of 7 crores of rupees beyond their legitimate pay, three-fourths of which might as well be thrown into the Indian Ocean. If it existed, which we have shown it does not, it would certainly be enjoyed and not thrown away ; but an attempt is made to show why the extra remuneration is really of no benefit to them by saying that the purchasing power of the rupee has not undergone much change in India, where the members of those Services can spend their pay and buy no articles imported from Europe, for which they would have to pay their gold price. And yet, as it were for the very purpose of refuting his own theory that we are paying these 7 crores when there is no call for us to do so, he quotes the case of a proposal made to reduce the pay of the Bombay mill hands, also paid in rupees, by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., on the plea that they were receiving money of enhanced value, which proposal was promptly refused, and the men went out on strike ! On the other hand, by way of supporting his own idea, he asks if Government will still take 1,000 tolas of silver for 1,000 rupees of taxation. The reply is simple, for the latter sum continues and will continue to be taken in 1,000 silver rupees.

It would only weary the readers of this *Review* to go into further detailed arguments in refutation of Mr. Wadia's assertions. What is called the currency policy of the Government of India—that is, closing the mints and thus making coined rupees less easily obtainable—was simply in order to remit at a cheaper rate the money required to meet home charges. It has steadied the rate of exchange to about 16 pence the rupee, an immense advantage in rendering trade less speculative, and has not interfered with the value of the rupee as the current coin in India itself, thus not imposing extra taxation on the people beyond what was necessary to maintain an equilibrium in the Indian Budget when the value of silver with reference to gold was continuously falling and making remittance to England more expensive, thus impoverishing the Indian Exchequer. Whether now that exchange has gone up and this taxation is no longer necessary, as shown by the large surpluses shown for the last two years, it might be partly reduced, as we ourselves consider it might, is a question for the future which does not come within the scope of the present article.

It is pitiable to see to what lengths a misunderstanding of the object of the Indian Government in its policy carries some people. The London correspondent of the *Hindu*, a tri-weekly Anglo-Indian paper published in Madras, on August 22 heads a letter with the title "A Craven Submission to Manifest Wrong," and quotes with approval Mr. Wadia's views as understood by the *Western Daily Mercury*, an English newspaper, to the effect that the policy referred to, although it has relieved the Government, has beggared the poverty-stricken peasant and handicapped Indian industries in their export trade to China and other countries. In support of this it repeats Mr. Wadia's statement that for every rupee of taxation 16 pence are in reality taken in place of 11½d.; that is, that the value of the artificially enhanced rupee is exacted in place of the intrinsic value of the silver in it as measured in gold. This we have shown above is not the case, for the rupee is still

the coin in which taxation is levied, and its value, except with regard to articles of luxury imported from Europe, remains for all other articles as it was before. This is the manifest wrong, a wrong that has no existence in fact, to which Indians cravenly submit. With regard to this manifest wrong, the London correspondent of the *Hindu*, evidently a native of India, says there is a way out of the cruel position in which the people of India find themselves, a way that would not only take from agriculture and trade the heavy burden now imposed on it (*sic*), but would also provide most admirable means of revivifying the industries of the Empire. We shall wait for his exposition.

I should like to supplement these remarks by a few observations on the paper read by Mr. Elliot before the East India Association on "The Economical Effects of Recent Indian Currency Legislation," and the discussion that followed the reading. It appears to me that Mr. Elliot unnecessarily laboured his proposal that the coffee and other industries of India were not in a prosperous condition, for the point is admitted on all hands, but any proof in his endeavour to connect that condition with the currency legislation was conspicuous by its absence. The only assertion connected with the subject was when he stated, on the authority of someone whom he called an able and well-informed correspondent in Baroda, that the policy had caused the producers of cotton to get fewer rupees for their produce. I have endeavoured to show above that the loss of any producer who may have thus suffered was due to the price of that produce having fallen in the markets of the world, and not to any currency legislation that forced up the rate of exchange. In the case of coffee there can be no doubt of the correctness of Lord Curzon's assertion that the fall in price was due to over-production.

I was astonished to hear from Sir R. Giffen in the course of the discussion that the currency legislation had, if I understood rightly the meaning of what he said, forced up

the value of the Indian currency, and this notwithstanding that in the course of his remarks he acknowledged that the value of the rupee in India was as great as ever ; in fact, as another speaker remarked, its value for many years past had been more stable than that of a sovereign in England. I maintain that it has not done anything of the kind, and that it has only obliged the person remitting money to India to pay more for the accommodation by which he receives money there by means of Treasury drafts, thus saving the cost of sending cash or bullion, than he would otherwise have done, and saving *per contra* the Indian Exchequer a good deal of expense in sending money to England to pay for home charges. The value of the rupee as against gold has been altered, certainly, but only to such as have to deal in remittance of money from one country to the other ; and this does not affect the producer, who gets the gold value of what he or the exporting merchant sends out of India, according to its value in the markets of the world. The example that he gave of a man who, before the rate of exchange was forced up, could have obtained Rs. 10,000 by the sale of produce worth £500 being obliged to sell what was worth £700 in order to produce the same sum afterwards would apply to an exporting merchant who had already bought produce, but not to a producer who was about to sell that produce, for which he would, of course, obtain its gold value in so many extra rupees.

THE ECONOMICAL EFFECTS OF RECENT INDIAN CURRENCY LEGISLATION.*

BY ROBERT H. ELLIOT.

LORD CURZON concluded his Budget speech of March 28, 1900, by saying that "there are two great duties of Imperial statesmanship in India. The first is to make all these millions of people, if possible, happier, more contented, and more prosperous; the second is to keep them and their property safe." Up to June 26, 1893 (the date of the passing of the Currency Act), those objects were as fully striven for as circumstances permitted; but since then causes have been initiated which are calculated to make the people less happy, less contented, and less prosperous, and their property, so far from being kept safe, has been and is being now most deplorably deteriorated. And yet the rulers of India are as able, as upright, as painstaking, and as eager to work for the good of the country as they ever were. What, then, is the explanation of this lapse? It is that the rulers of India in the year 1893, who were admirably qualified to conduct those affairs with which a long experience had made them thoroughly acquainted, resolved to reconstruct the currency of India without possessing the qualifications necessary to enable them to judge as to what, if anything, should be done in the matter, and more especially to form a sound opinion as to the consequences of any new currency policy they might adopt. They had neither that world-wide experience of economical affairs which is necessary for the formation of a sound judgment on such a subject, nor that imaginative power which in the case of some men can so largely supply the want of experience, and still less had they that ratiocinative faculty which, as Newman puts it, enables a man to see at a glance the ultimate result of a complicated problem. The

* See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for discussion on this paper.

immediate cause of their action was a panic, arising from the fact that falling exchange increased the burden of home remittances, while their taxational resources could not be easily increased by any large amount. They imagined that silver might fall until it became of no more value than the sands of the sea, an expression that was commonly used when the panic was at its height, and which was known as "the sands of the sea" argument. Their state of feeling was echoed on this side by Lord George Hamilton, in his speech of June 7, 1898, when he said that "if the Government had stood still and had done nothing, they would gradually have drifted into a position in which they would not have been able to meet their obligations," though I may observe in passing that he thereby indicated his approval of what the *Times* has well called "the quite inexcusable policy of tampering with the currency of a country in order to escape from financial difficulties." The belief that something must be done received a strong impetus from the fact that, if the policy which seemed best to the Government could be carried out, it would produce a stable rate of exchange, and this they thought would in itself cause a large flow of capital to India for the benefit of the people and to the ultimate financial welfare of the State. But what unfortunately they did not perceive was, that their method of creating a stable "exchange" at an artificially enhanced rate, which was liable to be still further enhanced at the will of the Government, instead of developing, would seriously injure the industries of the country, and thus at once diminish the means of employment and the rate of wages, results which have already occurred in consequence of the currency measure. But although the Indian Government has brought about such serious results, we ought to be obliged to it for proving more clearly than it probably ever has been proved that there are few more dangerous people in the world than well-meaning, conscientious, and partially informed men who have been invested—as the Indian oligarchy of head officials have been—with, practically speaking, irresponsible power. This, no doubt, is but a

poor consolation for the evils they have caused, but it is the only one, and the recognition of this elementary political fact may possibly lead to some modification of the system of governing India that will act as a safeguard against rulers who act according to their lights, but who are never likely to see far enough ahead to prevent their excellent intentions running the vessel of the State into serious danger when it is taken into unfamiliar seas.

And there is another important point which has been rendered very clear since the passing of the Currency Act, and that is, that when an oligarchy of "officials" like that which constitutes the Government—for the Houses of Parliament never can be in effective touch with Indian affairs—have once embarked on an erroneous course, they seldom have the moral courage to recognise and endeavour to remedy the evils caused by their policy. On the contrary, they strain every nerve to prove that they are right, and persistently attribute the evils that have arisen from their policy to any cause rather than their own action, a thing they know they may the more effectually do in consequence of the general ignorance of Indian affairs. We accordingly find Mr. J. A. Baines, C.I.E., leading the reader in the *Society of Arts Journal* to infer that the present decline in coffee is owing to plant disease and the prosperity of trade in other produce than coffee; Lord Curzon attributing industrial difficulties to over-production; while Lord George Hamilton, as we shall see, boldly denied the existence of any evils connected with Indian industries. Let us investigate his assertions.

Lord George Hamilton (*vide Times* of July 15, 1902), in his reply to Sir Edward Sassoon, refused his request for an inquiry into the agricultural and industrial evils that have resulted from the currency legislation on the grounds that no facts had been brought to his notice to show that any such evils exist. Now, I was deputed by the coffee planters of Southern India to represent their interests before the Fowler Committee, and I sent in a printed

statement of the points I was prepared to prove as regards the evil effects of the legislation on Indian industries. Previous to seeing my statement the Committee expressed a wish to hear me, but after they saw it I was put off from time to time till the Committee closed its examination of witnesses, nor was my statement even alluded to in their report. I appealed to Lord George in good time for my evidence to be taken, showed him the way in which the great interests I represented were being shelved, and sent him a copy of my statement, but he replied that he regretted what had occurred, but could not interfere with the Committee. I subsequently repeatedly brought to his notice the facts of the decline of the coffee industry and its proximate cause, and did so publicly when I spoke at a meeting held at the Imperial Institute on March 17, 1900. On that occasion neither Lord George, who presided, nor any of the speakers, attempted to controvert my statement as to the injurious effects of the legislation on all Indian industries which produced anything for export. I subsequently requested Lord George to grant me and one of our most influential planters an interview, in order that we might explain the very serious state of matters as regards our industry in consequence of the currency legislation; but his mental attitude was evidently that of the British farmer who, when asked to listen to some proposals for the improvement of his farm, replied, "What we knows we knows, and what we don't know we don't want to know," and I am naturally led to this inference as his lordship preferred not to own the receipt of my letter.

Let us now consider the effect of the measure on producers and their labourers, and as illustrative cases take (1) the European and native plantations of Southern India; (2) the tea-planters; (3) the cotton cultivators of Baroda; (4) the mill-owners of Bombay; (5) the gold miners of Southern India; lastly, let us consider the case of the holders of silver ornaments. As to the first, my long

experience as a planter, living in a part of Mysore where native coffee holdings are numerous, enables me to speak with the confidence which is derived from the most direct sources of information. In 1890-91, by a return prepared for me by the late Dewan, there were 662 European and upwards of 27,000 native holdings in the province. As regards the former, nearly all are more or less involved in serious difficulties, some are abandoned, others partially so, and a large number would have been abandoned had they (the owners) not been in debt to the mercantile houses, who have taken over the estates and continue to work them as mortgagees in possession. As for the native holdings, very few now exist, though they still figure as area under coffee in the returns. In the adjacent district of Coorg, of upwards of 25,000 native holdings hardly any now exist, and the same is the case in Wynaad, which lies to the south of Coorg, where many fine native plantations once existed. The primary cause of this great disaster is due to the decline in prices owing to over-production in other coffee-producing countries; the efficient or proximate cause—the last straw which has broken the back of the camel—is the currency legislation. In other words, had it not been for the losses arising from this legislation, all the planters—native and European—could have tided over the period of over-production. To make the matter more clear to the uninitiated, the following illustration may be useful. The farmers in England, like the planters in Mysore, are up to the neck in a sea of over-production. Let us suppose that the Government, by some currency manipulation, were to decrease the receipts of the farmers by about 25 per cent., it is as certain that they would be ruined, as it is certain that their ruin would be due, not to over-production, but to the act of the Government. The native planters were, as we have seen, struggling in a sea of over-production. The Government, by its currency legislation, reduced their receipts by about 25 per cent., and thereby extinguished their property, and then would

have us believe, as has been asserted by the Viceroy, that over-production is the sole cause of ruin. But this is far from being all, for the measure has conferred such a bounty on our competitors that Brazilian and other foreign coffees are now being imported into India, and in increasing quantities. On these only a trifling import duty is charged. The competing countries who now export to India have thus all the advantages of free silver, while our Indian coffee is produced under the depressing influence of an enhanced rate of exchange. It may be noted here that the taxation inflicted through the currency legislation is much worse for producers than an income-tax of 25 per cent. or a direct export tax of similar amount. In the case of the former the burden would, of course, rise and fall in proportion to the income, and cease if there were none; and in the case of the latter, if there were less to export there would be less to pay. But the export tax levied through the action of the currency legislation has to be paid whether there are or are not profits, or whether there is much or little to export. It is, in fact, an addition of about 25 per cent. to the working expenses of a concern, whether there are or are not profits from it. It is, therefore, the most injurious form of taxation that could be devised, and being an obstacle to industrial progress, and, consequently, a serious addition to famine producing causes, is obviously as harmful to the people as it must ultimately be to the financial and general position of the Government.

It seems hardly necessary to say anything further as to the evils of the currency legislation so far as the coffee industry is concerned, but it may be mentioned that at the annual meeting of the United Planters Association of Southern India, July, 1902, it was unanimously resolved that "This Association, while yielding to none in its loyalty to the Government, desires that it be publicly recorded that the fixing of the rupee at so high a rate as 1s. 4d. has been seriously detrimental to producers throughout India, and that it cannot regard the currency question

as finally disposed of while a higher rate is liable to be imposed." As the merchants and agents in Southern India are largely concerned, both directly and indirectly, with the planting industry, this resolution must be regarded as the opinion of the mercantile classes as well as that of the planters.

As regards the labourers, it is only necessary to say that, of course, large numbers have been thrown out of employment, while in a large number of cases their wages have been reduced from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 30 per cent. All classes have naturally suffered along with them. When I this year visited, after a four years' absence, what was once the most prosperous part of India (the western border of Mysore), I was astonished at the change, though I had confidently predicted it in 1893. The roads were deserted, and all signs of the former prosperity had vanished. One of the oldest planters said to me, "The country is in ruins," and that this ruin was owing to the currency policy all the planters are agreed. The late Dewan made an effort to save the native planters by starting two coffee banks and advancing them 70 lakhs of rupees. From the Dewan's recent address it appears that this sum has been so completely lost that the only hope of recovering any portion of it lies in advancing further sums for the upkeep of the plantations on the security for which the 70 lakhs were lent; but, unless a reduction in the rate of exchange can be effected, it is certain that all the money advanced and to be advanced by the State will be lost.

Turning now to the tea-planters, it is necessary to do little more than quote the following passage from a memorial lately addressed to the Viceroy, which was signed by 302 persons and firms having under cultivation a total of 380,604 acres. "The closing of the Indian mints," says this large body of memorialists, "and the subsequent advance of the Exchange to 1s. 4d. had an adverse effect on the tea industry, and many tea estates, which with a low rate of exchange could have been worked at a profit,

are not, as matters now stand, capable of earning sufficient to meet their outgoings, and must in time be abandoned unless some change in the conditions can be brought about." We thus see that the Indian Government has, as in the case of coffee, been spreading ruin around, and may be likened to the locust, which finds a paradise in its front and leaves a desert in its rear. Mr. David Yule, Chairman of the Bank of Calcutta, when alluding lately to the very low state of the tea industry, mentioned the case of an estate—a going concern, which had probably cost £10,000—being sold at Calcutta for £350. But it is useless to continue this branch of my subject, as it is so clear that industries hampered by a currency policy which indirectly taxes exports by 25 per cent. can never thrive, and in the best of times must always be a more or less perilous condition.

Let us now briefly notice the effects of the currency policy on a Native State, and take Baroda, for instance. I have been told by an able and well informed correspondent there that the policy has been attended with loss and inconvenience to the cultivators, the officials, and the Government. As to the first, they, of course, shared the fate of all producers of articles of export by getting fewer rupees for their cotton and other export produce, and in the course of six years were so reduced in circumstances that at the first touch of famine in 1899-1900 the Government relief works were crowded; the poverty of the Guzerat cultivators astonished the Bombay Government, as, not long ago, they were supposed to be in excellent economic condition. In consequence of the adoption of the British currency in place of the former native currency, the cultivator, when he pays his labourers two annas a day in the former instead of the latter, finds himself proportionately poorer. The people have begun to take note of the fact that their silver ornaments have lost their former rupee value. As regards the cultivator, the sum of the matter is that his taxation remains the same while his expenses are increased, and he gets fewer rupees for his produce for export, and

finds that the stored values he had in the shape of silver ornaments (the poor man's stocking) have largely fallen in value owing to the closing of the mints. Can we wonder, then, that the cultivator is now much less able to contend with famine and scarcity than he was before the mints were closed? My informant concludes his letter to me thus: "The currency policy has beggared petty cultivators, ruined big proprietors, and created ill-feeling in the minds of the people owing to their knowledge of the fact that, by some Act of Government, their silver ornaments have been rendered less valuable."

With reference to the Bombay mills, some are bold enough to assert, just as Lord Curzon did when referring to the condition of the planters, that the decline of the industry has nothing to do with the currency measure, and that over-production is the great cause of the evils the mill-owners complain of as arising from the currency policy. It is, I need hardly say, perfectly evident that the mill-owners have suffered in common with all producers, and that the trade between India and China has been injured by the legislation, though to what extent it is not now necessary to inquire.

When I turn to the gold-mines of India, I am able to say that in the case of the Mysore gold-mines, from information specially supplied to me by an eminent firm of mining engineers, a rise or fall in the exchange of 1d. in the rupee makes a difference in the group of mines they are connected with of £29,256 13s. 8d. per annum, so that, making an ample allowance for *per contra* advantages, the undertaking in question can hardly be losing less than £100,000 a year from the artificially enhanced exchange. It is a constant subject of remark that capital will not readily go to India—a complaint lately made in Calcutta by one who ought to know well, Mr. David Yule. That it does not go readily is not to be wondered at; the wonder is that it goes at all. When I was in Bombay last spring a native merchant observed to me that the Government did not care a straw

for the Ryot or Indian industries, and from the refusal of the Government to inquire into the most widespread grievances of both the remark was perfectly natural.

Let us consider, lastly, the case of the holders of silver ornaments, and as the consequential results here are serious, it is advisable to treat the matter with some minuteness. We have it on the evidence (given before the Currency Committee) of Mr. F. C. Harrison, Accountant-General, Madras, that, previous to 1893, every bit of silver in ornaments of that metal had probably been a coin, or part of one, at some time of its existence. The reason of this is that the silversmiths who make the ornaments have no capital, and the person who desires them no confidence in buying bullion, as he might, and probably would, be cheated. He therefore hands rupees to the silversmith, who makes the ornaments in the presence of his employer for the time being, and is paid a certain fee for the work. In consequence of this practice it is possible to make an estimate in two ways of the probable amount of money melted down for the purpose of making ornaments, and the first is that given by Mr. Harrison in his evidence, which consists of estimating the imports of silver bullion, and then deducting the value required for coin in circulation. The balance will show what must be held in ornaments or hoarded rupees. But this method is not very satisfactory, as he says that the estimate of coin in circulation may be largely erroneous, and the probable proportion held in ornaments and hoarded rupees must be a matter of conjecture. But what we are solely concerned with here is the probable amount of rupees melted down for ornaments, and I think we could have got much nearer to this if we had formed some estimate of the amount spent on them on the occasion of marriage. This I did to a certain extent when estimating (*vide* my "Experiences of a Planter in Mysore," London, 1871, vol. i., pp. 77-79) the progress of the country as evidenced by the increase of the sums spent on marriages, and the tables which were then prepared of the marriage

expenses of twenty-two different castes in Mysore are interesting and instructive, each item of expenditure being put down separately, and had the Government wished to ascertain the immense extent to which they were mulcting the people they might easily have formed a fair estimate by making investigations on the same lines. It is impossible to give all the details here, but on estimating the amount spent on ornaments on the occasion of marriage, and adding a certain amount for ornaments made at other times, it seems quite impossible to estimate the total value of them at less than 300 crores (Mr. Harrison's estimate is 250 crores), or, say, 300 millions sterling, as for purchases in India we may assume that this estimate is sufficiently near the mark.

The natives of India, then, went to bed on the night of June 25, 1893, with a value in hand in the shape of ornaments of about 300 millions sterling, and went to bed the following night minus at least one-half of the values they held the day before. In other words, the currency measure of June 26, 1893, deprived the people of about 150 millions sterling, equal at 12 per cent.—a moderate native rate of interest—to 18 millions sterling a year. The first effect of this serious confiscation was to make money much dearer to the poor and needy, as the money-lenders, who had lent on the security of ornaments as being of the same value as the rupees melted down to make them, could not recover their capital, and, to make up for their losses, raised their rate of interest. But the currency measure, as we have seen in the case of the industries previously considered, of course fell with great severity on the classes the Government ought to have most carefully fostered.

The Government, by what was generally held to be a gross breach of good faith, then cut off about one-half of the values the people had reason to deem safely their own, and if, as Lord Curzon stated in his Budget speech, one of the great duties of Imperial statesmanship in India is to keep "the people and their property safe," we cannot con-

gratulate the Government of 1893 on their interpretation of the latter part of the duties in question. And it must be remembered that these ornaments were not mere values, as it were, buried in the ground, and the second-hand value of which might be uncertain. They really were readily realizable securities of a certain fixed value, the equivalents of the rupees melted down to make them, and taking their place, just as money does, in the work and progress of the country. All those who are familiar, as I am, from having lived amongst the people, with the immense importance of small amounts of capital when they fall into the hands of the peasantry and labouring classes, must at once see how this cruel mulcting of the people must have affected the prosperity of the country. It will also recoil on the Government, and is doing so at this moment, as the melted down rupees were not only the poor man's stocking or savings bank on which to rely if money were required for any object, but were regarded as a reserve, and, as we know, was commonly used to fall back on in times of scarcity or famine. But the Government apparently cannot see that by injuring the poor they increase the demands of the people on the State in times of famine.

As regards the producers of India, the leading points of the situation have thus been summarized by a very able writer : (1) The Government revenues gain by the artificially high value which has been given to the rupee. (2) This gain to revenue is a loss to a portion of the community. (3) The portion of the community which lose is that which buys rupees. (4) The producing portion buys rupees, and therefore loses. (5) Its loss is equal at present to a loss that a 20 or 30 per cent. export tax would entail. (6) This tax on Indian production acts as a bounty in favour of competitory countries.

To inquire as to what should be done in order to repair the injury inflicted on the holders of silver ornaments would carry me far beyond the limits of this paper. As regards the case of the producers of India, the illustrations given

obviously lead to the conclusion that, if ever Indian industries are to prosper, as they might and should, the rate of exchange must be lowered; in other words, the export tax imposed through the medium of the artificially enhanced rate of exchange must be reduced. The state of the finances is such that this relief can easily be carried out. Lord George Hamilton has publicly declared that part of the wonderful surplus recently attained, and which seems certain to continue in future years, should be devoted to the encouragement of Indian industries. How can these be better encouraged than by relieving them of the heavy burden of that enhanced rate of exchange, which acts not only as a depressing cause to industries in existence, but as a deterrent to those who might otherwise be ready to embark in Indian enterprises? The producers should therefore ask for a reduction in the rate of exchange, and, should they be refused, pray for a thoroughly representative commission of inquiry to sit in India. It may be as well to point out here that in asking for a reduction in the rate of exchange producers would not be asking the Government to reverse its currency policy. On the contrary, they would only be asking the Government to move on those lines it has clearly declared itself open to do should circumstances demand a modification in the rate of exchange; and I may remind you that it was authoritatively stated before the Currency Committee that "The Government did not bind itself to fix 1s. 4d. as a permanent rate, nor any other rate for any fixed period of time." I earnestly hope that those interested in the welfare of India may press this matter at once, as if some relief cannot be obtained now the difficulty of obtaining any relief of taxation in the future will be enormous, as the habitual extravagance of the Indian Government will soon swallow up any surplus, and in the course of time, and perhaps no very distant time ahead, we should find an outcry from the Indian officials for a further rise in the rate of exchange. And we must remember that the Indian officials are the Government, and

that it was their persistent agitation which created and maintained the true force of that movement which paved the way for the introduction of the currency legislation.

But how are those who are, directly or indirectly, interested in India to obtain effective attention? Lord George Hamilton, we must remember, is one of the type of ordinary English politicians, and their principle is to sit still till evils have arisen to an extraordinary height (as we know to our cost at the present time especially), or till widely spread public demonstrations enforce their attention. They regard mere paper efforts, if they notice them at all, with a mildly sympathetic smile. This is a point which the producers of India are now beginning practically to recognise, and I am in a position to state that a movement has been initiated in Bombay for the formation of a Currency Reform League, which, I have no doubt, will soon be joined by all Europeans and all intelligent natives. A movement as regards currency reform has already been initiated by the Indian Congress, which has branches all over India. In the end all India will be firmly arrayed against the Government on this question, and then the country will obtain effective attention.

It is important to note here that an attempt has been made in the Indian press to play what I may call the "disloyalty trick" on the producers of India because they propose to combine against the Government. In opposing the destructive currency policy of the Government the producers of India will be giving most decided evidence of their loyalty to the Crown and the people of England. They owe none to that small and fleeting body of perhaps a dozen officials who have unwittingly created and are continuing to inflict on the people and producers of India the immense losses, annoyances, and evils which have arisen from the currency legislation.

One word further. There is an Eastern proverb which says: "Do not tell your secrets to your wife, nor trust an enemy at any time," and producers must recognise the

fact that, judging by the experience of the past, they are now engaged in a contest with a Government which, if it does grant an inquiry, will be careful to see that they are prevented from having either a fairly constituted committee or a fair hearing. Though Indian landed interests were, of course, chiefly concerned, not a single person directly or indirectly connected with the land was called before the Herschell Committee. Its verdict in favour of the Government was given in the teeth of the majority of the twenty-two witnesses examined, and whose opinions, from their character and position, were of great value. There were, indeed, only two independent witnesses in favour of the measure, and of these one, I am informed on good authority, has since changed his opinions. On the Fowler Committee Lord George Hamilton secured a majority of officials and ex-officials, two of whom, when in India, had taken an active part in urging the adoption of the measure. The most urgent representations of the Ceylon Government and people (their currency and circumstance being on the same footing as those of India) failed to obtain a seat on the committee for a well-known Ceylon planter (Mr. Christie), and had he been appointed my evidence could hardly have been suppressed. If, then, a commission of inquiry to sit in India, and mainly composed of independent and well informed members, like my friend Sir Robert Giffen, for instance, cannot be obtained, the producers of India should proceed with their agitation till effective attention is given to their grievances.

SAFEGUARDS FOR PURDAHNISHINS.

BY CORNELIA SORABJI.

ATTENTION was drawn in the *Times* of September 26 last, to the position of the *purdahnishin* or secluded lady of India, and more than one paper whose columns command attention either side of the water, has since discussed the problem.

The difficulty is this : There are in India both Hindu and Mohammedan women shut away in seclusion, partly by reason of their race, partly of their social position, and the tendency is—in those parts of the country where the custom of seclusion prevails (the North, North-Western Provinces or United Provinces, and the Native States of India)—to multiply the number of the secluded. A man (Hindu or Mohammedan) who has got on in the world will seclude his ladies—*i.e.*, acquire the status of the *purdah* for his womankind—as an Englishman would acquire a carriage or a country house. The women themselves like the new dignity ; where the custom has existed through many generations and centuries they demand its continuance. To ask some of these to relinquish the *purdah* would be like asking an English lady to walk down a street, in the nude.

The custom therefore exists, and is there to be reckoned with. What does it imply ?

This : that *purdahnishins*—we will confine ourselves to widows and minors who have no legitimate and natural male protectors—owners of large landed properties, or heads of business concerns, or guardians—*i.e.*, rulers of States during the minority of their children—have practically to conduct all their business relations with the outside world, in the dark, and from behind closed doors.

Their powers under their *personal law*—that is, the law of their own race—are considerable. Certain property is

the Hindu woman's inalienably ; in other property she has a life interest, with rights of enjoyment larger than those of an English tenant for life. She has also testamentary and contractual powers. And the Mohammedan law is even more favourable to women and their rights. When England began to make the laws of its Eastern Empire the dangers of the *pardahnishin's* position were at once recognised. The old Hindu law had given *rights*, but had not given *safeguards*; and naturally so, for the Indian lady of Manu's days was not secluded. Seclusion is an ingraft from Mohammedan custom, and dates but from the Mohammedan conquest of India. England, then, gave the safeguards. Anyone dealing with a *pardahnishin* dealt with her at his peril ; he dealt *with notice* of her disability, just as he would were he dealing with an infant or lunatic, or other person in need of protection.

The history of the law on this subject is interesting.

1865 : In *Ranee Usmut Koowar v. W. Tayler* (2 W.R. 307, and 4 W.R. 86), a Ranee had executed a bond giving Rs. 29,773 for fees to her attorney Mr. Tayler.

1866 : In *Soondur Koomaree Debia and others v. Kishori Lal Sein* (5 W.R. 246), a Hindu woman signed a deed giving away her whole property to her physician.

1867 : In *Ram Pershad Misser v. Ranee Phulputee* (7 W.R. 98), the *pardahnishin's* document was made in favour of her law agent or mukhtar. The plaintiffs in each case sought to recover on the bonds. This led to an enunciation of the principle that "the plaintiff was bound to show, beyond all doubt, that the Ranee knew accurately what she was about, and that she was acting advisedly and after consultation with those best able to advise her."

1867 : And this principle crystallized into the wider one enunciated in *Kanye Lall Juhoree v. Kaminee Dabee*, a Calcutta case : "A Hindu *pardah* woman is entitled to receive in this court that protection which the Court of Chancery in England always extends to the weak, ignorant, and infirm, and as to those who, for any other reason, are

specially likely to be imposed upon by the exertion of undue influence over them. *The undue influence is presumed to have been exerted unless the contrary be shown.* It is, therefore, in all dealings with those persons who are so situated, always incumbent on the person who is interested in upholding the transaction to show that its terms are fair and equitable." The most usual mode of discharging the onus is to show that the lady had good independent advice in the matter, and acted therein at arm's length from the contracting party.

1868 : It was adopted in a later case, *Roop Narain Singh v. Gujadhur Pershad Narain* (9 W.R. 297) : "Here in the case before us, the defendants, or their predecessors in title, dealt in regard to the purchase of the *mahals* (houses), which are the subject of suit with a *purdahnishin*, and they also, at the same time, stood in the position of accounting parties to the person whom the lady represented, relative to the rents and profits derived by them from the same *mahals*. They are, therefore, for a double reason, under the obligation to show that their respective purchase transactions were fair and equitable." And :

1812 : In Madras, in *Chillummul*, a widow, v. *George Garrow* (2 Strange's "Notes of Cases" 159), the brother of a Hindu widow, who was managing her affairs, had obtained endorsement of a company's promissory note. The question was, "Was it binding on her?" The court, in deciding in favour of the widow, observed that a court administering Hindu law must, to do justice, often interpose between a Hindu widow and her acts, as did English courts with equity cases; and the judgment proceeds : "It might almost be laid down as a principle that the act of a native woman parting with her property, unless in the ordinary course of expenditure, would be considered as one about which the court would always require to be satisfied by something more than the mere evidence of its having been performed, however strong."

1872 : In *Gerish Chunder Lahoree v. Mustt Bhuggobutty*

Debia (13 Moor, Ind. App. 419) their Lordships of the Privy Council pointed out that "this committee and the courts in India have always been careful to see that deeds taken from *purdah* women have been fairly taken, that the party executing them has been a free agent, and duly informed of what she was about."

The test is now *fairness of bargain*, and it would seem that this rule is enforced particularly in cases where a fiduciary relation exists or may be presumed.

1877: Thus *Asghar Ali v. Delroos Bano Begum* (I.L.R., 3 Cal. 324), where a *purdahnishin* lady professed to execute a deed in Persian (she knew no Persian), transferring all her property to religious uses; and so

1881: *Sudisht Lal v. Musst Sheobarat Koer* (8. L.R., Ind. App. 39), and many more. But the tendency of late years has been to decline to interfere with deeds *primâ facie* properly executed.

We see, then, that, whereas in the earlier decisions the *purdahnishin* was presumably not *sui juris*, notwithstanding her jural capacity, in the later cases the *fairness of the bargain*, and, later still, the *primâ facie* fairness of execution of the deed has been the test.

Thus far the law of the Empire. What of the *purdahnishin*? Does she get justice because the law books safeguard her? The law reports answer that question too, but we will take our answer from High Court judges administering at present in India this safeguarding law.

Says the *Hon. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali* of the Calcutta High Court: "That *purdahnishins* labour under great difficulties in obtaining competent legal advice is beyond question; it is also notorious that they are often in the hands of unscrupulous servants or interested advisers. Disinterested advice is often beyond their reach. It would, in my opinion, be a public boon if a qualified lady with a certain recognised *status* could be made to serve as the channel of communication between them and the official world, and to advise them in their legal affairs. I think the State owes it to

their helpless position, which has been likened to that of infants, to provide sufficient safeguards against the frauds and chicanery of which they are at present so often the victims."

And the *Hon. Mr. Justice Knox* of the Allahabad High Court: "I am fully satisfied that [*purdahnishin* owners of property] often are in great straits whenever it may be necessary to have recourse to courts of justice. There may be cases in which there are old family servants who are staunch and faithful, fewer cases still in which relations can be trusted. But I hold these cases to be exceptional. I know of more than one instance in which I am satisfied that the family agent or relation has been bought over by the other side, and has played into their hands."

So the *Hon. Mr. Justice Blair*, also of the Allahabad High Court: "During my ten years' judicial experience I am continually dealing with cases in which it is manifest that women have been more or less robbed by their male relatives. Yet the number of cases which are instituted by them to obtain redress is quite infinitesimal. There seems to exist between them and the fountain of justice an almost insuperable bar."

And an ex-Indian Judge, and sometime Reader of Indian Law at Oxford, so great an authority as Sir William Markby, confirms this: "The cases are, I am afraid, numerous in which women in India living in seclusion are surrounded by persons who do not deal honestly by them, and, being only able to communicate with the outer world through those selfsame persons, they are practically helpless. That the evil exists . . . is wholly beyond dispute."

In short, no multiplication of laws can help those who have practically no access to that which will put the law in motion. The safeguards exist sure enough; the pickets are there. The difficulty is to get the *purdahnishin* inside them.

Or, look at it another way; the anomaly is obvious. You

give a woman the rights of an adult person ; her physical position is that of an infant. Take, for instance, the widowed *purdahnishin*, owner of a life estate in property as large, it may be, as an English county. She is generally illiterate, even as regards her own vernacular. She may have considerable business powers in embryo, and be possessed of sound practical qualities, or she may not. In effect it makes little difference, for, owing to the restrictions of the *purdah*, she has to act entirely, in reference to the management of her estate, through her (Indian) agent. He is her only door to the outside business world—*i.e.*, he is practically (in the worst cases) in the position of sole trustee to an infant of considerable property living under circumstances where secrecy and concealment are the natural atmosphere. The "opportunity" of darkness and seclusion is always available.

The danger of this position of trust lies naturally in the fact that there is no one to oversee it. If the trustee abuse his trust it is primarily and often solely through himself that the woman must complain.

Indeed, this "trustee" has been known to compel a transfer to himself of almost all the *purdahnishin's* proprietary rights. The practice of signing blank documents is very common in the zenanas, and the *purdahnishin* has found, when it was too late, that he has even been making her pay him rent for living in her own house, so that time might run in his favour, and make possession doubly sure.

Another woman's estate was made to finance her adversary's actions against her—all of them absolutely without foundation—the "trustee" getting a heavy percentage for arranging these litigious dissipations. Another, a widow of eighteen (Native States case), succeeded under his will to a life interest in her husband's property. After her death the property was to be divided up among the entire "community" (pariah dogs and pigeons included). Every one on the estate was interested, therefore, in her death ;

she was young and very healthy. The chief residuary devisees, by arrangement with the trustee, after failing to put her out of life the usual way, presented an application in court praying that she be discharged from her executorship, and the estate taken away, on the ground that, if not mad, she was too impossibly immoral to be allowed proprietary rights in her husband's estate.

The only person to represent the lady in court was the "trustee," and he did not appear.

If the woman could get her case to the courts the law would help her, but how is she to get it there? Would the "trustee" be likely to instruct counsel against himself? Could the woman—as could an Englishwoman under similar circumstances—call at the office of a male solicitor or adviser? True, she might, by the hand of some trusty servant, send for counsel; but he could not "see" her without the knowledge of her agent or "trustee," maybe only under his chaperonage, seldom unaccompanied by all the women of her household, and certainly never except through a curtain.

What, too, of identity and absence of coercion under such limitations?

Indeed, the position of the woman is almost worse than it was before the law took her under its protection. For the fact that the law is in her favour gives her, in the eyes of the world, a false security, and helps the manager of her affairs—if he be a rogue—to take advantage of the disability of his ward. For when advantage is so taken dishonestly, it is not the *purdahnishin* who is to blame, but her intermediary.

Another evil of the situation is that the outside world is chary of dealing with *purdahnishins*, and insists on particularly good terms if it does so deal, because of the chance of avoidance. I mean—after a contract has been concluded and relied upon, or acted upon—it may be discovered that the *purdahnishin* was not a free agent, or had not been duly informed of the transaction, and advantage is taken of

her "disability" to render it null and void. This is one reason why a *purdahnishin* estate seldom fetches its true price in the market. And this makes an *a fortiori* reason for the invention of some remedy.

To give the *purdahnishin* competent legal advice would be not only to help her to her safeguards, but to safeguard others in their dealings with her. It is to every honest person's interest that she should be so helped. But how?

It is true that help of a kind already exists. There is a collector or administrator whose duty it is to attend to the complaints of such of the widowed owners of property as are wards of court. But such officer is a much over-worked official; it is not his sole duty, he has a large district, and comes within her geographical area but seldom—say once or twice a year. At best he sees her under all the restrictions applicable to men *qua* men. Moreover, the number of wards of court, though increasing yearly, is limited, and the women who have not even this outlet are naturally in greater need.

One way might be to throw open the practice of the law to women in India in the regular way. Yet though the attempt has been made to gain this concession, the courts still (with single exceptions in a particular instance), close their doors. And there is certainly something to be said against opening a door by which all and sundry might enter in a country where intrigue is the normal atmosphere of certain Native States, and where tact is needed as much as knowledge and judgment.

Another way might be *through the executive*. The woman who would help the *purdahnishin* must have some recognised label and authority. If the courts will not give it (and it *may* not be advisable that they should), could not the executive? for their machinery is already in motion. In the Court of Wards Department of the Government they have an officer, one of whose duties it is to interview through the curtain the *purdahnishin* ward of court. Why not substitute a woman for a man in these cases?

Ask of her a particularly good legal education, theoretical and practical, let her be a nominee of the Government so that she might be a picked person in every way, and make her work under the direct control of the officer of the district.

You would thus have given her the authority and protection which she needs for the difficult work of protecting those less fortunate than herself from unknown dangers and unconscious dishonesties.

And you would extend her usefulness were you to allow her to take private practice as well—*i.e.*, to reach those women unconnected with Government, who are really in greater need of help, but who cannot (in the absence of the *imprimatur* of the courts of justice) be reached except in this circuitous way. Naturally, to these latter the adviser would go only if requisitioned. The combination of public and private work has its precedent in the position of the Government advocate, so that need not be a trouble. You interfere with no custom or prejudice of the country—nay, rather you conform to the custom and practice of the *purdah*.

And if we consider in detail the advantage of this woman adviser in a *purdahnishin* country, one wonders how she has been done without, all this while. Not only, for instance, could she hear complaints from behind the *purdah*, but she could prevent much causeless litigation. She could attest signatures, take evidence and oaths, help to examine *purdahnishins* in cases where examination is by commission, see to the registration of deeds, and compel fairness for both sides in the inception of contracts; prevent the manufacture of those unnecessary and needlessly extravagant succession cases with their legends of "children purchased in the bazaar," and, in fact, by her very existence make life more tolerable to no small portion of His Imperial Majesty's subjects.

This, I say, is one way, and a comparatively easy way, of meeting the need. Where the chance of salaried work

is certain, women will be forthcoming for the work. What matters it of what nationality these may be as long as the required qualifications are fulfilled?

English women have, ere this, learnt the languages and customs of the East, and Indian women have tackled its written lore and learnt to face its business requirements.

Yet all that I would emphasize is that the need exists. It is for those to find a remedy who—albeit all unconsciously and with the best intentions in the world—have helped to complicate the need.

THE MONSOON OF 1902 : ITS ECONOMIC LESSONS.

BY AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.

THE Indian monsoon of 1902 has come and gone, but not without its lessons, and it is time to consider how far it resembled or differed from an ordinary monsoon, and whether it holds out any prospects of good monsoons in future years.

About the end of May and the beginning of June, 1902, there were signs of a normal and favourable monsoon. Severe cyclones occurred at Rangoon, Calcutta, Bombay, and Karachi, bringing with them heavy rain to different parts of India. These conditions prevailed more or less till near the middle of June, and the people were rejoiced in the prospect of a continuance of rain ; but about this time—*i.e.*, the middle of June—the wind and the rain ceased practically all over India, and a period of drought with excessive heat followed, and continued very nearly to the end of the first week of July, causing much damage to the seedlings. About July 5, however, the monsoon showed signs of revival, and during the second and third weeks of July there was more or less general rain in India, and the prospects were decidedly brighter ; but from about July 20 to nearly August 20 there was a second drought. This second drought was a period of intense anxiety, as the crops were fast withering away, and a serious famine seemed inevitable. Fortunately, the monsoon took another favourable turn at the critical period, August 20, and there was general rain in India during the last week of August and the greater part of September, with disastrous floods in many parts of the country, and a serious railway accident near Madras, in which nearly a whole train was lost from the giving way of a bridge, not unlike the Tay Bridge disaster of 1878. Briefly speaking, the monsoon of 1902 was erratic

and characterized by cyclonic rains towards its beginning and its end, with two distinct periods of drought, the first period being from about the middle of June to about July 5, and the second period from about July 20 to about August 20.

Now, in a normal year the monsoon conditions are somewhat different, and the reader may be interested to know what a typical Indian monsoon is like. Taking Bombay as our observation centre, its rainfall being an index of the general character of the monsoon over a large portion of India, it may be said that the south-west monsoon begins about the middle of June, being usually preceded by a few storms with terrific tropical thunder and lightning, which must be heard and seen to be properly appreciated. Once begun, the rains continue from the middle of June to very nearly the end of September, with a steady south-west wind, which is at its height during July, with occasional intermissions of rain, but never a prolonged drought of two weeks or more as in the monsoon of 1902.

Such have been typical Indian monsoons in the past, which, unfortunately for India, have been of late years conspicuous by their absence, and it is, I think, somewhat problematical with what regularity or irregularity they will come in the future, though it is never safe to dogmatize on the subject of this annual phenomenon, which, apparently, is not fixed or defined by any known natural laws or conditions. Many of us have doubtless heard of the supposed connection of the monsoon with sun-spots and with the early or late fall of snow on the Himalayas, but the latest exponent of the subject is Mr. Sutcliffe of Bombay, who connects, not only the Indian monsoon, but also rain and earthquakes in other parts of the world, with the position of the heavenly bodies in relation to the Earth. He talks of etheric pressure between the planets and of our Earth passing outside and inside the lines of those pressures, and of certain positions being favourable, and others unfavourable, to rain. I must confess my inability to follow his line of

reasoning, but at the same time it is quite possible, if not probable, that Mr. Sutcliffe is on the right tack, for, if any influence of heavenly bodies exists on the rain, such influence would not be more wonderful than the influence of the moon on the rise and fall of tides, and the Government of India might invite the attention of their astronomical experts in India to these subtle influences of the planetary bodies with a view to verify or to refute Mr. Sutcliffe's observations.

For my own part, I think it is possible that, since nothing in Nature can stand still, a new stage has arrived in the evolution of the Indian monsoon, and that during the next hundred years or so the rainfall may gradually become more and more scanty, and finally become a negligible quantity, or cease altogether. This may be a mere idle speculation, but I think the deserts of Central Asia furnish an object lesson which it would not be right to ignore altogether. That intrepid traveller, Dr. Sven Hedin, who not long ago returned from Tibet and Eastern Turkestan after an exploration of nearly three years, has brought to light many interesting facts, from which it will appear that certain parts, at least, of that inhospitable region were once the home of an ancient civilization, with populous cities which are now, alas! converted into deserts owing to the want of rain, and that these deserts are gradually growing in extent in a south-westerly direction. These facts may or may not have any bearing on the future climatic conditions of India, but the subject is one which cannot but be of interest to scientific men, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Hedin, who is himself an able scientist, will, in the book it is reported he is going to publish, discuss this aspect of the question, and throw some light on it.

Whatever may be the fate of India in the near or distant future, it may, perhaps, be not altogether fruitless at this stage to study the statistics of rainfall for as many years past as it may be possible to obtain them, and to see whether the average rainfall of the country is increasing or

diminishing every year, or is stationary. Unfortunately, the figures for such a study have not been published, so far as I know. My suggestion is that the statistics of rainfall of some important rain stations in India, like Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Jubbulpore, Allahabad, Calcutta, Lahore, Madras, Colombo, Rangoon, and some others, may be collected for the last hundred years, if possible, and the average of decades taken for the purpose of comparison. No harm can be done by their publication, while—if the statistics be such that some general deductions may be drawn from them—some good might result.

I have so far confined my remarks to what is known as the "Indian monsoon," which in a normal year covers the period from the middle of June to the end of September, or, approximately, three and a half months. But, while this period receives a large share of public attention, the winter rains of India, which are only second in importance to the monsoon rains, do not seem to attract much general notice. These winter rains are much lighter in character, and are confined chiefly to the sub-Himalayan plains to the north of India, being usually coincident with a fall of snow on the mountain ranges. It is usually during December and January that these rains come, and they are as essential for the unirrigated "rabi" crops (wheat, barley, grain, oil-seeds) as are the monsoon rains for the "kharif" crops (rice, jowar, bajri, maize). The importance of these rains may be gathered from the fact that the area under cultivation for wheat, according to the *Pioneer*, shrank from, roundly, 8,000,000 acres in 1900 to about 6,000,000 acres in 1901 in the Punjab alone, and, what was worse, about half of this crop was not expected to live owing to the failure of these rains. Not less lamentable was the fate, according to this same authority, of the oil-seed crop during the past winter, and the loss to the cultivator and the Government must have been enormous. What was true of the Punjab was true of other districts depending upon these winter rains, though in varying degrees. Thus,

the effects of the continued drought were also apparent in Gujerat, where the condition of the cultivator, or "rayat," as he is called, was truly deplorable, for, in addition to the drought, there was a veritable plague of rats and field-mice which devastated the fields, carrying away the seed grain before it could germinate. According to a graphic account given by a correspondent of the *Pioneer*, many trees died from this drought, while tanks and wells upon which the people depended for the supply of drinking water were known to have dried up entirely, and there was something truly weird in his description of men going about at night with lanterns to their fields, and shooting the rodents with bows and arrows in vain efforts to save their fields.

In February last* I had predicted a general failure of monsoon in India in 1902, and its sequel a general famine. Fortunately for India, that prediction has not come true, and no one can rejoice over that happy issue more than I do. But, from what I have already said, it will appear to the thoughtful reader that the element of uncertainty in an Indian monsoon, as well as in the winter rains of India, is, if anything, increasing every year; and the student of Indian economics will, I think, agree with me in saying that, where Nature is so capricious in her distribution of rainfall, the task of the Government of India to bring happiness and prosperity to the masses of this country, who are poor agriculturists and labourers on the field, is likewise becoming increasingly difficult every year.

The one lesson, then, we have to learn from our recent experience of Indian monsoons is that anything like confidence in our estimate of rainfall in future years should be avoided. Some people talk complacently of cycles of fat and lean years, but our recent experience does not lend much support to this view of mathematical precision, and he must indeed be a bold man who can say with confidence what the next year would be like, not to take a longer view. If these premises be correct, it would seem

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1902, pp. 403-406.

to be the obvious duty of the Government and the public of this country to husband their resources, and to be prepared for future contingencies, and a few remarks upon the present economic situation, its faults (if any), and their remedies, would, perhaps, not be out of place. This is a subject so vast, and withal so complicated, that it is not possible to go fully into it in the course of this article. Nor is it my intention to enter into any intricate calculations to show whether the agricultural or non-agricultural income per head of the Indian population is increasing or decreasing every year. Such figures, so far as India is concerned, will never, I am afraid, convey any profitable meaning. What, I think, is more important is to show that the present economic situation is not very satisfactory, and that there is room for improvement in many directions. I shall, therefore, merely touch upon some of the salient points which of late have agitated the minds of the Government and the public, and offer a few remarks where they may seem to be necessary.

And, first, since India is essentially an agricultural country, where nearly four-fifths of the total population have to depend solely upon agriculture for bare existence, it will be obvious that the encouragement and improvement of agriculture should be the first duty of the Government. It is needless to point out that, in a country where the periodical monsoon and the winter rains cannot be depended upon, irrigation must be the chief item in the programme of public works. Now, in India there are many valuable irrigation works. In fact, India has something to be proud about in this respect, for her irrigation officers have not only served India, but have also served other countries, and notably Egypt, where the name of that distinguished engineer, Mr. Willcocks, will doubtless long be remembered. But it cannot be denied that much yet remains to be done. The extent of land for which irrigation is available at present is calculated to be approximately 20,000,000 acres, while the total acreage of land in India which could be cultivated is believed to be somewhere near

1,000,000,000 acres. Roughly speaking, the proportion is as 1 to 50. It would seem, therefore, that irrigated land is as yet a mere fraction of the land which for agricultural purposes would have to depend totally upon the rain. Lord Curzon, with his usual administrative foresight, has ordered a Commission to report upon the whole question of irrigation, and there is very little doubt the Commission will recommend a more extended use of irrigation, involving some large works and a great outlay of money, when the real difficulty will be the usual one of finding money. It may be noted, however, that, taking large and small irrigation works in India, the net profit on the outlay is well over 6 per cent. per annum according to the latest official reports, an achievement of which the Government may well be proud, considering the general poverty of the country. If, therefore, there be no surplus available out of the annual Indian revenues to meet a capital outlay, let us hope the Government will see their way to borrowing the money in the open market at the cheapest rate, and start new works at an early date, which may prove not only protective and productive, but also be the means of employment of thousands of people who may be out of work owing to the present depressed state of agriculture. If we are going to have a succession of bad years in future—and there is no saying what is in store for us—irrigation seems to hold out the best prospect of averting a serious economic crisis in the future history of the country. We have the history of Egypt to encourage us in the belief that with extended irrigation will come increased prosperity to the country. It has been argued in certain quarters that because there are no perennial streams or rivers in certain parts of India, or because the lands are high and the sources of water at a considerably lower level, therefore those parts cannot be irrigated. These are matters for irrigation experts to decide, and the Commission appointed by Lord Curzon will doubtless take them into consideration. It may be permissible, however, for a non-expert to refer in this place

to the "Kazusa" system of boring for deep wells in Japan, as described by Mr. Norman in a recent publication, and to the experiments of Mr. Chatterton, of the Madras School of Arts, to utilize, by a pump worked by a small oil-engine, the almost unlimited supplies of subsoil water by enlarging and deepening existing wells in the country. I may also refer here to the ingenious idea, which is of American birth, I believe, of utilizing the heat of the sun for motive power to work the irrigation machinery—a solar motor, in fact, by which the rays of the sun are reflected from a series of powerful mirrors upon a metal cylinder filled with water, and the steam thus generated in the cylinder is utilized for working the irrigation machinery. According to a recent account, a solar motor has been actually set up and experimented upon in California, but with what practical results I do not know. If the idea be of any practical value, India is just the place where the solar motor should be tried, the heat of the sun here being very great, and often phenomenal, while it will cost nothing.

The objections to the use of machinery of any kind in India—and those objections cannot be lightly brushed aside—are threefold in character. The first is the innate conservatism of the people, who will not patronize an innovation in a hurry; the second is the question of expense, which would be prohibitive for the majority of Indian cultivators; while the third is the general ignorance of the people and the want of technical skill in the use of machinery of even the simplest kind. These objections are real, but it would not be right, as a matter of principle, to admit that, because there are difficulties in our way, they should not be met and overcome. No country in the world has made any economic progress without some difficulties at the start; much less can India expect to make any. The average native of India is certainly a very conservative person, and slow to move in a new groove; but show him a good thing, and a thing that will pay, and he will soon forget his conservatism. There are thousands of natives

to-day, of all shades and denominations, who wear English clothes and smoke cigars and cigarettes with the utmost nonchalance—a thing which their forefathers never knew. Perhaps more to the point is the history of the iron mills for crushing sugar-cane, which are now so extensively used in Bengal by the Indian cultivator. About a quarter of a century ago there was probably not a single Indian cultivator who had ever seen or heard of these mills. The mill was introduced by a certain European zemindar in South Behar. The natives saw it, found it a good thing, and to-day there are thousands of these mills used by the natives, not only in Bengal, but also in other parts of the country ; while it is said that those who cannot afford to buy will often hire one of these mills for use.

As regards the objection of expense, it is true that the majority of cultivators are poor and cannot afford machines ; but there is poverty in every country, and, if India has perhaps more of it than other countries, it must not be supposed that there are no rich zemindars in India who can afford to buy machines. It may be interesting in this connection to mention the name of an enlightened Indian landlord, Babu Hari Prasad, of Dumraon, whose father, according to a Rangoon paper, received a grant of 15,000 acres of waste land in the Tongoo district from the Government in recognition of his services, and the son is now engaged in converting the jungle into an elegant farm with the aid of all sorts of modern agricultural implements. It is men of this stamp that India particularly needs at this stage of her economic history, and I doubt not they would be forthcoming in numbers if the Government would only attempt to approach them on the subject. In other countries it is the people who approach the Government, but in India the process will have to be reversed, if the Government really wants to teach the people, who, as a rule, are an absolutely ignorant mass, and it is for their ignorance that they suffer. From another account lately published, it seems that the Central Provinces of India are

going ahead in a very laudable manner in the matter of agricultural improvements, and that the native landlords are setting a good example to the rest of India by sending their sons to the Government agricultural school attached to the Government farms at Nagpore, the headquarters of the Central Provinces, where they learn how to use modern agricultural implements.

Thus, it would seem that neither conservatism nor poverty is an impassable barrier to progress, but the third objection, of the want of technical skill in the use of machinery, is not so easy of solution. Technical education is still very backward in the country, and if any machinery, except of the simplest kind, were to get out of order, the cultivator, in nine cases out of ten, would not be able to get anything done for it. For my part, I believe that, in districts where well irrigation is more generally applicable than irrigation by canals or reservoirs, the Persian-wheel system of drawing water from wells is the one best suited to the country, provided the zemindar could be induced to build a good deep well on his farm. This system, I believe, is largely in use in Gujerat, and its advantage is that a continuous flow of water can be obtained at a minimum cost, a pair of bullocks being all that is necessary for working the Persian-wheel. At the civil headquarters of every district, a good deep well with a Persian-wheel fixed over it should be built by the Government in a convenient place (near the Collector's kutcherry), to serve as an object lesson to the people, and the Collector, who is the handy man of the district, should be instructed by the Government to teach the people of his district how to build a proper well and how to use the wheel. It should be his duty to make notes of all places within his district where such wells and wheels would be useful, and to induce the people to build them, every facility being given in the matter of construction. The Collector is the head of his district, whose authority and aid the people look up to in all matters, and there is no doubt he can further the cause of irrigation within his

district in the way I have alluded to, if he be in sympathy with the people and knows how to guide them. It is true that, under certain existing Acts, the Government lends money to the cultivator for building wells or buying seeds, and for such mercies the people ought to be thankful; but until more active sympathy and solicitude in the welfare of the people entrusted to its care is shown by the Government, it is not likely, I think, there will be much economic progress in India. As was pointed out lately by a leading Calcutta paper, "Except in the case of the cultivation of the poppy, in which it is especially interested, the only link that exists between the Government as landlord and the cultivator as tenant is the machinery it maintains for the assessment and collection of the land revenue, and in certain cases of water cesses." It is greatly to be desired that the relations between the Government as supreme landlord and the cultivator as tenant should be of a closer and more cordial character.

Next to irrigation, as being the means of improving and encouraging agriculture, comes the question of railway construction in India. That railways have a most important share in the economic development of any country can scarcely be disputed, and it would be churlish to deny that India has benefited by her railways. There is, I think, very little doubt that the 25,000 miles of railway which exist in India to-day, and which promise to be about 30,000 miles in the course of a decade, have been the means of developing the many resources of the country, of fostering its trade and agriculture, of increasing its military strength, of mitigating the worst terrors of famine by the timely distribution of food in famine areas, and last, but not least, of a general education for the people, apart from the mere facilities of travelling which railways must give to any country. But, unfortunately, these Indian railways, with a very few exceptions, have not so far proved to be successful commercial undertakings, but, on the contrary, have been worked at a great loss, and in that

limited sense may be considered to be a burden to the general taxpayer. It is an index, I think, of the general poverty of the country that railways do not pay in India. From statistics published by the Government, it seems that the total capital outlay on the Indian railways from the date of their first construction in 1848 up to the year 1900 was over £133,000,000, while the total loss in working them exceeded £26,000,000 within the same period, taking the rupee at its present value of Rs. 15 to the sovereign. These figures cannot be considered satisfactory, and suggest haste and a want of grasp in manipulating finance, though it is fair to state that the Government of Lord Curzon cannot be held responsible for any mistakes made by previous Governments. The railway earnings of the current year (1902) for the first six months are half a crore of rupees behind those of the corresponding period of the previous year, while the current annual loss in working the lines is estimated in round numbers at a crore a year for years past, and it is difficult to say when this annual deficit will stop. If, therefore, the railways have proved to be an economic gain in various ways, as previously described, they have also proved to be an economic loss in hard money, and the question immediately before us is whether the construction of railways should be carried on with the same feverish haste in the future as in the past, regardless of what they cost or what they earn. A great many of these railways, especially in Upper India facing Afghanistan, are strategic railways built primarily for the defence of the Indian Empire, and as long as military considerations prevailed their construction was justifiable, for the first duty of a community evidently must be self-preservation. But it would seem that the limit is reached, or very nearly reached, of strategic railways, and the Government would do well to pay particular attention to the purely commercial aspect of these undertakings, and to desist from building any lines not likely to pay in the commercial sense. In the future economic develop-

ment of India, irrigation must take precedence of railways, for, while the former means an increased production of food, the latter would probably mean a financial burden on the country, and would retard progress instead of accelerating it. To give railways to India in her present state of health is like giving a sick man rich food which he cannot digest. For if the people die from want of food, as they have lately, and if agriculture should suffer from want of water, as it doubtless has lately, the railways, it would seem, will have little to carry as passengers or stores, and must suffer in their turn from want of traffic. At the same time, it seems very desirable that the Government should offer every facility and inducement to capitalists to build new lines at liberal terms short of any guaranteed interest on the outlay. What the Government cannot do themselves let the public do, and let a dog-in-the-manger policy be avoided. The question of small-gauge feeder railways to bring traffic to the main trunks is one of some importance to the country in its present condition, and the general opinion seems to be that such railways will pay commercially if judiciously selected; but for such consummation it is necessary that the Government should avoid all reticence or mystery, and should publish the results of surveys, the probable cost, the probable earnings, the terms, and other matters of interest, to the would-be investor, or it is certain he will not come forward with his purse. It must be remembered that it is chiefly with English capital that the Government can hope to extend its railways, and, with the growth of the colonies and the growth of the Imperial sentiment, English capital is likely to divert more and more in future to the colonies, and notably to South Africa, where the climate for working, and perhaps the prospects of substantial dividends, are better than in India. The failure of some English engineering firms to supply one or two small-gauge railway engines to the Indian Government for use in the Delhi Durbar camp, as recently published by the *Pioneer*, is a matter not

altogether without significance in connection with what I have said above. As an offset, by way of alluring the would-be investor, I may mention the satisfactory working of the Pondicherry railway as recently published by a Madras paper. Its permanent way is only about eight miles. In 1897 the gross earnings amounted to, in round numbers, Rs. 36,000, working expenses Rs. 19,000. Four years later—*i.e.*, in 1901—the gross earnings were Rs. 60,000, working expenses Rs. 27,000, showing a profit of Rs. 33,000, the dividend declared for the year (1901) being 14 per cent. free of income-tax, while there was every prospect of the line paying double that amount in another five years. Here, at least, we have a model railway in India, and there is no doubt that other similar lines would probably pay equally well. There is a great boom in Indian coal which is likely to continue for some time, and now is the time for the capitalist to build short lines to the collieries to bring the coal to the main lines. This will give a great stimulus to the coal industry of India, which is as yet in its infancy, and which undoubtedly has a great future before it.

There are various other economic questions upon which I should like to say something, but must leave to a future occasion.

THE CONFLICT IN MOROCCO.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

THANKS to the presence, with the Sultan, of Mr. W. B. Harris, the correspondent of the London *Times*, the English public has possibly been able to follow the late dramatic occurrences in the interior of Morocco more closely even than have the natives of the country itself, where information filters but slowly from one city to another, and where it is, moreover, so generally exaggerated and distorted that the gleaner, be he native or European, is more likely to be deceived rather than enlightened.

Mr. Harris, however, despite his admirable special qualifications, has given a more optimistic impression than many who know the country equally well are disposed to endorse, and even Mr. Harris's own interesting account of the combat on November 3 near Tesa, between the Sultan's forces, commanded by his uncle Mulai El Kebir, and the irregular following of the Pretender to the Shereefian throne, known as Bu Hamara, shows that during the earlier part of the day the insurgents, who were the attacking party, had the better of the fight, and that it was only the artillery and maxims which ultimately saved the Sultan's troops from defeat.

Had the Imperial forces been compelled to fly, Fez and Mekinez would almost certainly have risen against Mulai Abd-el-Aziz, since it is most unfortunately true that the disaffection throughout the entire eastern half of Morocco is widespread and general. Indeed, it is an open secret that even about the Sultan himself many of his advisers and officials are resolutely opposed to the policy of reform to which the young Sultan has committed himself. Nor is it rash to assert that the course which most commands the sympathy of foreigners, and especially of English sympathizers, is precisely the policy to which the natives, generally, are most adverse.

Strange as it may seem, the natives are not so absolutely without cause for alarm as might seem on a merely superficial acquaintance with the conditions and circumstances of the case.

To begin with, there is the natural jealousy inspired amongst the old Moorish party, both at Court and throughout the country generally, by the rapid rise to favour and power of the young Vizier Si Mehdi El Menebbi, who, it will be remembered, visited England last spring as an Imperial envoy in company with Kaid (now Sir Harry) Maclean. Secondly, there is the disapproval aroused by the extravagant outlay entailed by these missions to London and Berlin, as well as those to Paris and St. Petersburg, to which latter cities Ben Suleiman was sent. Unfortunately, the purchase of the useless toys and innumerable articles of foreign luxury purchased during these ambassadorial expeditions was followed by continuous orders of similar character, by which, as a general rule, only foreign commission agents benefited. Thus, the native merchants of Fez and of Morocco city saw the treasures of the Government being drained to satisfy tastes and requirements for which they were allowed no opportunity to cater.

It was feared, moreover, that El Menebbi's exclusively English proclivities might provoke the dangerous antagonism of other neighbours less benevolently disposed than England, whilst even England herself could not escape the suspicion in the minds of the half savage Arabs, the nomads who rove the plains, or the fiercer Berbers of the hills, that her favour might merely precede the advent of forces destined to deprive the Moors of that independence of which they make so poor a use, but for which, strange to say, most of them would be quite willing to lay down their lives. Thus a variety of circumstances have conspired to expose the country to the most serious of all possible dangers—viz., a period of prolonged anarchy; for were Abd-el-Aziz defeated there is no party in the country sufficiently strong or united to organize a durable Government.

Even the disorders which have occurred near Tetuan, and here also at the very gates of Tangier, show what might be expected were the power now exercised by the Kuids, Bashas, or Ameers replaced by the consciousness that the troops at the command of these officers could not be depended upon to repel aggression or to maintain order. True, neither foreigners nor their interests suffered during the late disturbances in our neighbourhood; only native officials, or Jewish merchants, or muleteers were seized and tortured, or merely held as hostages against the release of tribesmen imprisoned in the towns owing to their refusal to serve on the Harka, or submit to other military requisitions.

Although these so-called insurgents may have suffered serious wrongs at the hands of their too frequently cruel and unscrupulous officials, still, though such provocations have been by no means confined to the present moment, yet, during a residence of over thirty years in the country, the writer has never known a single case where the peasantry of the neighbouring villages have dared to lay hands on even the most obnoxious agents of the Basha of their respective districts, much less to seize the offender in the very presence of the Basha himself, as occurred at the village of Ain Asesh, not two hours from Tangier, on November 4. The Basha himself, upon the occasion in question, was obliged to beat a hasty retreat, while his unfortunate Kaid, El Mechuar, was cruelly tortured for forty-eight hours, and his eyes burnt out with branding-irons; nor was he rescued from the hands of his enemies and tormentors until the younger son of the Shereefa of Wazan secured the release of the unfortunate Abd-el-Malak in exchange for the young Shereef's promise that the four tribesmen (whose imprisonment at Tangier had provoked this brutal and savage retaliation) should be released.

The impression caused by such an incident to an observer like myself, to whom both the officials concerned and the perpetrators were alike equally well known, may

be imagined. Certainly nothing could more clearly show what might have been expected had the belief entertained at the time by the population of the country about Tangier and Tetuan, to the effect that the Sultan's authority, if not already destroyed, was at least trembling in the balance, proved correct.

The most striking feature of the situation was the unwillingness of the natives to believe that the Sultan's troops had really triumphed over his adversary, though the adversary in question was a man of more than doubtful antecedents, whom no one hereabouts knew even by name. Nor had this individual ever been seen by any of their acquaintances, yet such was the dislike to their lawful ruler, who has shown himself in s many ways to be animated by the best and most benevolent intentions, that it was enough for any claimant to raise the standard of revolt, for the subjects of Mulai Abd-el-Aziz to believe not only in the Pretender's improved claim to royal descent, but they also gave implicit credence to the wildest tales, affirming this charlatan's pretensions as a miracle-monger of the most preposterous description.

Fortunately, the Sultan has thus far escaped the machinations of his multifarious enemies and evil-wishers, but amongst the unfortunate consequences of the uncertainties of the hour is the economic disturbance which adds another evil element to the situation. Not only has the cost of living increased to a sudden and alarming extent, owing largely to the increased facilities for exportation allowed during the past few decades—for which, however, the present ruler of Morocco is not responsible—but the unsafe condition of the roads now makes it difficult for merchants to forward to the markets of the interior various articles of import upon which the townspeople of the nearer cities have become accustomed to rely. Transport from Tangier to Tetuan by road has risen from half a dollar (Spanish currency; say one and sixpence English) per kilogram to four dollars, while transport to Fez, lately

quoted at five dollars per kilogram, has now risen to seventeen dollars.

The fluctuations of Spanish silver further embarrass the merchant's calculations, so that the markets throughout the Sultanate generally are gravely affected. Thus, notwithstanding the absence of any justification, yet these causes for general discontent also affect the loyalty of the tribesmen and the inhabitants of many a town and distant hamlet, to whom the question as to who reigns over them would otherwise be a matter of profound indifference.

None of these reflections, however, should weigh with any true well-wisher of the country against the schemes for reform, towards which the majority of the natives whom one meets seem so ill disposed.

Morocco must, at any rate, readjust herself both intellectually, morally, and materially, or no government will be possible. She cannot now return to the condition of fifty or a hundred years ago. Times have changed, and this halting child of the past must march with the rest of us.

The most desirable reform of all—that of the mental adjustment to the new order—seems, however, the most difficult to initiate, as the Ulema—*i.e.*, the law and the priesthood, in whose hands is the education of the youth—are here, even as in more advanced countries, most desperately opposed to all change.

Here, at Tangier itself, there is an all-pervading sense of coming change. With the marked increase both of native born and foreign population, the town is rapidly extending, whilst the ancient thoroughfares, no longer adequate to the traffic, become not only more crowded and more horribly inconvenient, but seem actually to shrink and dwindle, until it becomes a serious problem on a market-day for a pedestrian to reach his destination. Yet there is no authority which can open wider avenues or deal with the accumulating difficulties of sanitation.

Never were the foreign representatives so active as at

present in their efforts to assure better local conditions, and it is a pleasure to record the fact that even those amongst the Diplomatic Corps who have hitherto shown little or no interest in what may be described as municipal affairs—though this, by the way, is a term never employed at Tangier—have now apparently realized the absolute necessity of some effort to have the streets better paved and oftener swept, and, above all, to deal with the more complicated question of some system of adequate drainage.

Urgent appeals have been addressed by the various ministers and consuls both to householders and also to the Sultan himself, and it is to be hoped that these efforts may lead to some result; but until some general system of municipal taxation has been agreed upon, no real improvement in the condition of the streets of Tangier can be realized.

Of course, rumour here has been rife of late concerning the alleged understanding between England and France regarding the Morocco question, but such questions cannot be discussed in official circles—at least, not here in Tangier, where all avenues of information are so carefully guarded that conversation must be content to treat of nothing nearer than the Far East or the Pacific Isles. Still, even the humblest inhabitant of this motley town realizes that the neutralization of Tangier forms the basis of the passive agreement between the two great Powers more directly concerned in the Morocco question.

If to this could be added the inestimable advantage of being declared a free port, then might Tangier soon become a prosperous and rapidly growing community; for it is the gate city of a rich agricultural region, beyond which lie the unexplored mineral resources of the mighty Atlas range.

THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT HAMBURG.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

THE Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists was held at Hamburg from September 4 to September 10 last, under the presidency of Pasteur Senior Dr. Behrmann of Hamburg, the honorary presidency being conferred on Burgomaster Dr. Mönckeberg. The reception given to the members of the Congress, who were about 600 in number, by the city and Senate, was a brilliant one, and notwithstanding the changeable, and, at times, rainy weather that prevailed during our visit, the fêtes proved very successful. It is our duty to the authorities and inhabitants of this great free city to give expression to our thanks for the liberal and cordial way in which we were received.

The great majority of the members came from Germany; the other countries best represented were France, England, the United States, Switzerland, Italy, and Austria. With the exception of Egypt, Oriental countries were represented only by a few members.*

It was an interesting incident, the holding of a Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, which is a town possessing neither a university nor literati. It is true that it is a cosmopolitan city of 768,000 inhabitants whose intercourse with the countries of the East, the Far East, and Africa is great. From that point of view a meeting of Orientalists at Hamburg was admirably selected for the purpose of dealing with colonial questions in their connection with Oriental subjects. As it will be remembered, this was so successfully brought about at the London Congress of 1891, organized by the late Dr. Leitner. The Colonial Congress which should have taken place at Berlin a short time afterwards unfortunately induced the Hamburg organizing committee to suppress in its Congress the colonial section.

* For the first time in the history of Oriental Congress, the Government of Ceylon was represented, the official delegate being Don M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, who read an interesting paper on the progress of archæological research in Ceylon.—Ed.

This was a mistake ; a colonial section would have given to the Congress an originality which was completely wanting.

The Congress was divided into eight sections : I. General Linguistics—Indo-European ; II. India and Iran ; III. Indo-China and Malaysia ; IV. Central Asia and the Far East ; V. Semitic Languages and Literatures ; VI. The Mussulman World ; VII. Egyptian and African Languages ; VIII. Relations of the East with the West.

The general sittings, as also those of several sections, were held at the Concerthaus in the Pauli quarter, as there only was to be found, in this large city, a hall sufficiently spacious for such meetings. Several sections had to meet in buildings at a great distance from the Concerthaus, so much so that it was difficult to attend several at one time. This proved to be very inconvenient, and showed a want of foresight in point of organization.

I shall give but a brief notice of some of the principal papers read. If I have omitted to mention some important ones, it is due to the circumstance to which I have just alluded. Moreover, the presenting of a general view concerning the operations of the various sections was in no way facilitated by published bulletins. In consequence of a regrettable decision, the secretaries of sections were satisfied by indicating merely the titles of the different papers. Since the beginning of the Congresses this is the first time such meagre reports have been issued. In fact, the bulletins are but a very incomplete account of the sittings. Nothing would have been easier than to have asked each speaker for a short summary of his speech, as was the custom adopted in preceding Congresses. But, as will be seen farther on, the Congress of Hamburg has obviously deviated from the path followed by former ones, and with little advantage.

SECTION II. : *India and Iran*.—Lehmann has thrown much light on one of the most difficult problems of Oriental ethnography—namely, the history of the migrations of the Thracians, Armenians, and Iranians. Hardy submitted some notes on the enlarged text of Mahāwansa, contained in a Cambodian manuscript. In consequence of this com-

munication the section passed the following resolution : " That this section having understood that the publication of a series of critical editions of historical documents relating to Ceylon is under the consideration of the Government of that colony, desires to express the earnest hope that the proposal will be carried out, an edition of the Mahāwansa being an especially pressing desideratum." Foucher read a paper on the French school of the Far East. The section expressed its congratulations to the Government of Indo-China for this foundation, and for the works published by the school. Stein related, in an extremely graphical manner, the very interesting journey of exploration which he made in Chinese Turkestan. This communication was one of the most important made to the Congress. The combined Indian, Central Asian, and Far Eastern sections expressed their thanks to the Government of India for the great encouragement it had extended to Oriental learning and research by granting to Dr. Stein the necessary leisure and means for the prosecution of his recent explorations in Eastern Turkestan. Kuhn explained the progress of the work " Manual of Indo-Aryan Bibliography," by Kuhn and Scherman. Schroeder produced a plan of a critical edition of the text of the Mahābhārata. Pullé exhibited the ancient cartography of India. The learned professor showed the audience a very fine collection of maps of the Middle Ages, brought together with much trouble, and of great interest for the study of India. The Congress resolved that the necessary resources be placed at the disposal of the author in order to enable him to publish his valuable collection. Also an interesting paper by L. C. Casartelli on " The Literary Activity of the Parsis during the Past Ten Years in Avestic and Pehlevi Studies."

SECTION IV. : *Central Asia and the Far East.*—Hirth and Fortris spoke on the transcription of Chinese. The Twelfth Congress at Rome had decided that each country should fix a unique and official system of transcribing Chinese sounds, and that these different styles of transcription were to be collected in an international manual. The

Congress of Hamburg has furthered this idea by having a table printed in three columns: (1) Mandarin sounds in accordance with the transcription of Wells Williams; (2) the same sounds according to the system of the International Commission of 1897; (3) a blank column for the purpose of filling in official equivalents which each Government may have adopted for describing the sounds mentioned in the two previous columns. Franke read a paper on "The Principal Reforms in Chinese Writing at the End of the Nineteenth Century"; Chavannes gave a paper on "The Sacred Instructions of the Emperor Hong-ou" (1368-1398); Donner on "Excavations and Inscriptions in the Ancient Turkish and Ouigour of Turkestan." This section (3rd) seconded the resolution moved by Fokker on the importance of the study of the Malay language, etc.

SECTION V.: *Semitic Languages and Literatures.*—Pinches: "Notes upon a Small Collection of Babylonian Tablets from the Birs Nimrod." Ryssel: "Origin of Hebrew Fragments of the Book of Jesus, Son of Sirach." Sellin: "Excavations conducted by him at Ta'annek in Palestine." Halévy: "Origin of the Cuneiform Spelling-book." Hommel: "The Planets and the Gods of the Zodiac of the Elamites in the Great Cylinder of Assurbanipal." The section expressed a wish for the early publication of the great Cambridge edition of the Septuagint, and made some important recommendations to the editors regarding the publication of the Vatican text, etc. The section also advised those societies, etc., who are about to undertake excavations in Assyria and Babylonia to have them conducted by scholars versed in the knowledge of the history, languages, etc., of the ancient East, etc.

SECTION VI.: *The Mussulman World.* — Goldziher: "Some Interesting Notes on the Funeral Chants of the Ancient Arabs and their Mourning Ceremonies." Merx: "Introduction to the Aristotelian Ethics in Arabic Philosophy." Seybold: "On a Curious Manuscript of a

Tale in the Thousand and One Nights," with illustrations depicting persons apparently of Persian origin. Lyall: "A Show of Interesting Lithographed Documents from the Press of the Mahdi." Montet: "A Scientific Mission to Morocco: Moorish Islam and Religious Fraternities." Hess: "Bedouin Songs (Gahtanische Beduinenlieder) reproduced by the Phonograph." This paper was of very great interest. Spiro: "A Study on Al-Maturidi," etc.

SECTION VII.: *Egyptian and Berber Languages*.—Erman explained the progress of the work on the "Dictionary of the Egyptian Language." Capart: "A New Papyrus of the Book of the Dead." Th. Reinach: "On the Date of the Jewish Colony of Alexandria." Naville: "The Stone of Palermo." Basset presented an interesting report on Berber and Hausa Studies (1897-1902). Stumme: "An Important Memoir on Metre in Berber and Hausa." This metre is generally borrowed from the Arabic, but has undergone some particular modifications. The Congress, by vote, has drawn the attention of scholars to the (ignored) importance of Berber studies, etc.

SECTION VIII.: *Relations of the East with the West*.—Brehier: "On the Influence of Orientals on Western Civilization at the Beginning of the Middle Ages" (fifth to eighth centuries). Deissmann: "On the Influence exercised by Hellenic Thought on Semitic Monotheism" (an important memoir), etc.

Several sections were little frequented or attracted but a very small number of members, such as: I. General Linguistics — Indo - European; III. Indo - China and Malaysia; and VII. *b* African Languages.

In the general sittings of the Congress I may mention the works of Gubernatis on "Çakuntala and Griselda," and of Merx "On the Influence exercised by the Old Testament in the Development and Formation of Universal History."

At the closing sitting the Congress decided to reassemble at Algiers in the spring of 1905, the invitation which had

been given by the Government of Algeria having been accepted with enthusiasm.

At the same sitting Naville put forward the following proposition, which had been before a previous general meeting and referred to a commission for consideration. This important proposition, which was not carried without opposition, I consider necessary to give in full :

“Especially as experience has shown that the publication *in extenso* of all the communications presented at the Congress can follow only so late afterwards that the contents of many contributions are overtaken by the advance in science before they can appear. And whereas it would not be difficult for every contribution to be published in some one of the special journals or periodicals, where it would come more directly to the knowledge of those working in the particular subject. Therefore the General Session of the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists resolves that ‘the issuing of the communications *in extenso* be given up. That the Executive Committee in Hamburg be entrusted with the duty of publishing, within at least six months, the essential points of those contributions and discussions, of which a résumé is handed to the General Secretary within one month after the close of the Congress. The length of the single résumés, so far as possible, shall not exceed two printed pages of the form and size of the previous reports. The Congress requests that the Board of Directors of the German Oriental Society lend their aid to the Executive Committee in Hamburg in the matter of publication.’”

This resolution was occasioned by the unaccountable delay in the publishing of the Acts of the Congress of Rome; at the time of writing (October 22) only a single volume of the Acts had been sent to members of the Congress of Rome, although two volumes of the same had been placed on the table of the President at Hamburg by Gubernatis. The Committee of the Congress of Rome is therefore responsible for the proposition carried at Hamburg.

This resolution is lamentable. In reality the volume of résumés to be published by the Committee of Hamburg will possess little interest; it will excite the curiosity of its readers without satisfying them. Moreover, the members of the Congress who did not come to Hamburg will be disappointed in their expectations; they entered their names, not being able to go to Hamburg, with the conviction of being able to read in the Acts of the Congress those memoirs in which they are interested. I know of many members of this category who have decided never to inscribe themselves as members of Congresses of Orientalists so long as this decision is in force. I also know of others who were present at Hamburg, and supported the proposition in the hope of bringing about the suppression of these congresses; of others, in short, who were absent from Hamburg, but who rejoiced at this vote, as a precursor, they believed, of the death of the Congress.

To sum up, I cannot see the advantages of the resolution carried at Hamburg; on the contrary, I perceive its dangers. But—and it is my consolation—I may add that whatever one congress has voted another can cancel. Algiers can restore what Hamburg has suppressed.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, I wish to repeat at the close, what I expressed at the beginning of this report, that the Congress of Hamburg was a success, and of much interest to those who attended it.*

* The fêtes in connection with the Congress were splendid. They consisted of a reception at the Rathaus by the Senate; a *gala soirée* at the Stadttheater, where the "Valkyrie" of Wagner was performed; an excursion by steamer to Cuxhaven, and trip to the North Sea; a nautical fête on the Alster, and a banquet given by the Congressists in the large hall of the Zoological Garden.

NOTE.—We join with Professor Montet in expressing our earnest hope that all the friends of Oriental research will vigorously co-operate and make the Congress of 1905 a triumphant success.—ED.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL WORKS—OLD TESTAMENT AND JUDAISM.

AMONGST general works we may point out, in the first place, the fourth and last volume of the "Dictionary of the Bible," published by Hastings,* and which commences with the word *Pleroma*, and ends with *Zuzim*.

The "Dictionnaire de la Bible," published by F. Vigouroux, to which has been added Part XXI,† includes articles from *Jerusalem* to *Joppa*. This portion of this important Catholic publication is of special interest on account of its articles (with some fine plates) on Jerusalem, (book of) Job, (book of) Joel, etc.

The third edition of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," edited by Hauck,‡ has reached its eleventh volume ("Konstantinische Schenkung-Luther"); it contains very few articles concerning Orientalism ("Biblische Kritik," etc.).

"La Sainte Bible polyglotte" (Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and French), published, with introductions and scientific illustrations, by F. Vigouroux, has been added to by Volumes II. and III.§ which contain all the biblical books from Joshua to Job. It is a useful edition, which is intended to popularize, in Catholic centres, scientific facts concerning the Bible. It may be observed, incidentally, that the scientific study of the Bible is becoming more and more common among clergymen, whether Catholic or Protestant. Together with the publications of the Abbé Vigouroux may be noted that of Pasteur Trial, entitled "Essai d'éducation chrétienne,"|| in which the study of the books of the Old Testament is written entirely from a critical point of view.

Finally, we wish to notice a Catholic review, which is in its second year of existence, the *Oriens Christianus*, a half-yearly Roman publication for the study of the Christian Orient, and published by the Collegio Pio del Campo Santo Teutonico, under the editorship of Baumstark.¶ The texts and Syriac portions of the first part of the second year, which we have before us, describe those subjects which specially concern scientific Orientalism.

The publication of the third edition of Schrader's work on Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament ("Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament") is proceeding; the first number of the second part having

* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902. † Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1902.

‡ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902.

§ Paris: A. Roger et F. Chernoviz, 1901-1902.

|| Nîmes: Lavagne Peyrot, 1902.

¶ Roma, "Tipografia Polyglotta della S. C. de propaganda fide," 1902.

appeared.* The fascicule drawn up by Zimmern treats of religion and language, and the author examines very carefully the existing connection between the Babylonian religion and the Old Testament. This work is of the highest interest. It is understood that this edition of Schrader, which extends to the Apocryphas, the Pseudepigraphs, as well as the New Testament, is published by Zimmern and Winckler, who have entirely transformed the original edition.

In reference to the history of Judaism, I may mention a useful supplement to the authoritative work by E. Schürer, "Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christ" (3rd edition); namely, an Appendix, which includes very complete tables of the volumes which have appeared.†

Steuernagel has published a very clear and methodical treatise on the history of the Israelite migration into Palestine ("Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan").‡ The tribes descended from Leah, on their entry into Canaan, formed a single group; from this stem, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zabulon and Dinah separated (the tribes are classified under the names of Jacob's four wives, in conformity with the custom which has been adopted since the works of Wellhausen). The tribe of Dinah settled near Sichem, was absorbed by the Sichemites; Simeon and Levi, established near Dinah, being disappointed in their attempt against Sichem, lost all importance. Originally there was but one tribe descended from Rachel, Joseph, who divided later into Ephraim and Manasseh. Machir was an offspring of Joseph who went and settled down in Gilead. Joseph established himself in the district formerly occupied by Simeon, Leah and Dinah. Benjamin afterwards separated from Joseph. The tribes descended from Bilhah—to wit, Dan and Nephthali—resided at first on the south-west of Mount Ephraim. Those descended from Zilpah originally lived to the east of Jordan; it was from thence that Aser set out, later on, to take up its residence in the north. Jacob is not merely a personification of the people of Israel, but was originally the father of one tribe. Jacob was an old family, closely connected with that of Rachel; to these tribes Jacob—Rachel belongs mainly to the name of Israel. It is impossible for us to follow the author in all the details of the emigration and wanderings of the tribes. We notice, however, some interesting confirmations. The date of the Exodus is 1450. The time of the establishment of Israel in Canaan seems to be some period before 1300. It is the tribes descended from Leah which are described under the name of *Habiri* in the inscriptions of Tel-el-Amarna, about 1400.

W. Graf Baudissin has published an introduction to the books of the Old Testament ("Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments"),§ which differs by the following characteristics from other works of this kind which have appeared in Germany. The author considers, and not without reason, that the fault of "Introductions" is the devoting of one's self to a critical analysis of biblical books so detailed that the reader loses all sight of the whole ensemble in these books. He has therefore endeavoured, without exaggerating, to give an idea of the whole, a more general charac-

* Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1902.

† Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902.

‡ Berlin: Schwetschke, 1901.

§ Leipzig: Hirzel, 1901.

teristic of the books of the Old Testament. Has the author succeeded in his attempt? In dealing from a more general point of view with the contents of the books of the Old Testament, does he not lay himself open to the reproach of passing too rapidly over the critical analysis, which he must of necessity give in detail, and consequently make an insufficient and obscure scientific study?

L. Goldschmidt's edition of the Babylonian Talmud has been increased by two fresh fascicules: the second part of the Sanhedrin treatise, and the Makkoth treatise.* One cannot but commend this remarkable publication, whose numbers succeed one another with a regularity deserving of praise.

A work of real scientific value has been published and promoted as a thesis by the Faculté de Théologie of Geneva. It is by L. Delétra, and is entitled "*Recherches sur les vestiges d'un culte des morts chez les anciens Hébreux.*"† The author deduces the existence of the worship of the dead in ancient Israel. We cordially recommend this publication to all those interested in the problems raised by the Old Testament. It is an excellent monography on this particular subject.

ARABIC LITERATURE: ISLAM.

The important work of Brockelmann on the history of Arabic literature ("*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*"), of which the first volume was published in 1898, is now completed. The second volume ‡ contains the history of the decline of Mussulman literature, from the domination of the Mongols to the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim in 1517, from this date up to the expedition of Napoleon in 1798, and, lastly, from 1798 to the present time. The new volume constitutes by its extreme conciseness a valuable repertory towards the knowledge of Arabic literature of the latter centuries of our era. It is enlarged by 200 pages of a voluminous index, including authors' names and the titles of their works, which will prove most useful to readers and students interested in Arabic studies.

The "*Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*," by Chauvin, has been augmented by a new fascicule containing the third part of the Thousand and One Nights.§ This new part gives the continuation of the summary of the stories. This remarkable publication is beyond praise. We desire to make known to the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* that the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Institut de France) has awarded the Delalande-Guerineau prize of 1902, to the first volume of the "*Bibliographie*" of Chauvin.

Chauvin has also published a very interesting work on "*la légende égyptienne de Bonaparte*" (*Mémoires et publications de la Société des sciences, des arts, et des lettres du Hainaut*).|| The author relates in detail the extraordinary part which Bonaparte played in Egypt by trying to pass as a Mussulman, and the local story which originated from this strange policy. Numerous documents and justificative papers illustrate this captivating memoir.

* Berlin: Calvary, 1902. † Geneva: Kündig, 1902. ‡ Berlin: Felber, 1902.

§ Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1902.

|| Mons: 1902.

In the compilation "Der alte Orient"* O. Weber has summarized in a short tract ("Arabien vor dem Islam") our knowledge of Arabia before Mohammed.

We have to announce a publication also of very great interest by Ch. Seybold—"Die Drusenschrift Kitâb al-noqat wa'l-dawâir" (the book of points and circles), Arabic text according to the MS. of Tübingen and München (with a facsimile). The author prefaces the Arabic text by a short introduction on the Druses, their history, religion and writings, etc., and on the manuscripts in his possession.

Among the works regarding contemporary Islam we may quote the following:

"Muhammadanism and the British Empire" (The British Empire Series, vol. v.),† by Corbet, an interesting book, which has already been mentioned in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. The author estimates the Mussulman population of the world at 215 millions.

The *Revue de Paris* (August to October, 1902) has published a paper for the use of the general public, which is full of interest, on the religious sects of Northern Africa. It is by Jean Pommerol, and entitled "Islam saharien: la mille et deuxième nuit" (scraps of a diary). It is a new novel, full of life and local colouring, on the customs and ideas of African confraternities. The author is well-informed. The scene is laid in the *zāwīya* of Mōzafrane (?) amongst the fraternity of the Jazertia.

The *Revue* of Paris (formerly the *Revue des Revues*) in its issue of March 1, 1902, has published a curious Mussulman declaration of faith, under the title of "Le dernier mot de l'Islam à l'Europe," by Sheikh Abdul Haq of Baghdad. This pseudonym conceals the name of an Oriental Christian, employed in a high diplomatic post, and a great admirer of Islam. Anyone, on perusing the article, can plainly see that it is not the work of a genuine Mussulman.

A new review has appeared, dealing with contemporary Islam, from a political, social and religious point of view—viz., *Revue franco-musulmane et saharienne*.‡

Just as we are closing this Report, we have received an interesting work, which was laid before the Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lausanne as a thesis, entitled, "Kitâb al Qadr," by de Vlioger.§ It is a collection of materials which will be useful for the investigation of the doctrine of predestination in Mussulman theology; a well-got-up work, very conscientious and scientific, its only fault being a want of originality.

* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901.

† London: 1902.

‡ Paris: Le Soudier, 1902.

§ Leyden: Brill, 1902.

THE COMPARATIVE CLAIMS OF THE AVESTA AND OF THE VEDA.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

CAN the Avesta be said to possess a predominating value in a just comparison between the two?

The immense literature of India, with its divisions and subdivisions, would indeed prove itself a formidable rival to any other monument of the early intellectual life of man. Its depth and later rare refinement, with its minute delineations of the more subtle forms of human passion, and the rough exuberance as well as the remote age of its earlier portions, make it, taken as a whole, perhaps the most astonishing phenomenon of its kind among the present possessions of our race, always excepting the æsthetics and dialectics of incomparable Greece, and the moral earnestness of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. But truly wonderful as Indian literature may well be termed, it does not in the matter of spiritual tone surpass the sparse relics of Iranian lore in their mysterious sublimity, if, indeed, it be fair to institute a comparison between the two. For, let it be well remembered, each may claim all that is impressive in the other, as they are very near akin.

And in their close relationship the northern lore, shorn of its dimensions as it is by the effects of an unfavourable climate and a bad (strategic) position (on the highway of migration between East and West), may still assert for itself in the primeval sisterhood, if not the senior place, at least one which, in several important particulars, is of superior interest.

Its myths are as hoary with the gray of primitive history as the Indian; its language, while it has shown signs of departure from the common mother stock in some particular items where the Indian has remained steadfast, has yet preserved others which are lost in the kindred speech;

and perhaps it can claim a preponderance of earlier survivals.

And the Iranian, as of course, occupies the more original home. The Aryan Indians, as no one doubts, once lived in lands to the North-East, or North-West, of Iran, if not in Iran itself; and our convictions as to this are not founded upon mere undefined traces of their nationality, but we have actual relics even in our documents of those who held to the Indian creeds. They still lingered in the times of the later Avesta as a down-trodden portion of the community, while in the feuds of earlier centuries they are strong and vigorous, as seen in the older book.*

There they enter fiercely into the very struggles of the partisans of the two (once twin) religions, just as the Dēvas themselves and the Asuras were said to contend in some of the old fragments of the Indian lore.† Daēva worshippers are met with as an inferior caste in the Vendīdād long after the mass of the Daēva-worshipping Aryans had gone South toward India; and we have in the Gāthas a conflict so marked, and of a bitterness so pungent, that some scholars have been induced to believe that it affords us a glimpse of an original feud, having been actually the scene of the first split between the main body of the Iranians and the future Indians. Some critics have also, in fact, asserted their belief that this religious difference really induced the memorable march toward the land of the Five Rivers, with its momentous consequences;‡ and, as I need hardly add, in these more northern places, where future Indians and Iranians once lived (and loved and quarrelled), we have way-marks of that remote and still prior migration from the unknown land from which the earliest Aryans came.

In these time-honoured paths there lingered a scant nation of virtuous husbandmen who preferred to worship

* The Gāthas.

† See Haug's "Essays," pp. 270, 271.

‡ See my article, "The Veda and the Avesta in East and West," February and March, 1902; see also the *Nineteenth Century Review* for January, 1894.

God under simpler names than Varuṇa or Indra, if, indeed, their epoch was not so remote that these venerable names were as yet unheard by them ;* and as these "tiller-men"† were of the same blood as the future Indians, so they spoke the same rich language briefly alluded to above, with a difference not greater than, if, indeed, so great as, that which distinguishes the dialects of Greece.‡ They knew all the same gods who were extant at their particular ages, and sang to the best of them in the same old metres. It is, therefore, not at all quite fair to separate these lores too widely.

Questions, indeed, arise, and must for ever remain unsettled, as to how far the differing literatures were divided as to time ; but no one with any capacity whatsoever to read the evidence can well fail to recognise the identities, as they so unmistakably reveal themselves before our eyes. Veda is Avesta in many a fundamental trait, and Avesta is Veda. Each, however, has its strongly-marked idiosyncrasies as a subdivision of the whole. The Veda possesses enormously the greater bulk, and in the richness of its very numerous sections and subsections it surpasses Avesta amid a thousand forms of beauty and exactness, while the Iranians lead the Indians, and, in fact, all ancient folk beside them, in the elevation of their moral and religious tone. Yet even as to colour and aroma we could only acknowledge the superiority of India so long as we forget that mass of middle and later Persian art which may be regarded as a continuation of the Avesta in a certain sense, with the Pahlavi literature as the intermediate between the two. Surely the early R̥k is not much nearer to the Hitopadeṣa than the later Avesta is to the first Persian bard ; and if we take in the middle Persian literature, Iran does not look so scant in comparison with the thronging

* Which, indeed, seems hardly possible.

† Aryans.

‡ The one from the other, as to which see Oldenberg, "The Religion of the Veda," p. 27.

South. The fairest field for an estimate is, however, the earliest period; there the two lores should be regarded, for once at least, as things by themselves, apart, for so, indeed, they are in the Gāthas and in the Older Veda. When the Vasishthas* chanted the Rk of the seventh book, or the Vāmadevas that of the fourth, there was no other Veda extant of any equal power. And so when Zarathushtra first composed the hymns of which our Gāthas are the fragments, there was nothing among things germane which equalled them extant, as we must believe. The Veda even of that day† is everywhere the fullest, judging from the wild luxuriance of its human thought alone. Its varied poetic forms impress us, but Avesta stands for ever alone as the oldest lore still surviving which speaks so distinctly as it does, revealing to us a spiritual life on earth with a moral heaven beyond it.

And great is our privilege in exploring it. For where, to mention but a single point, in all the thousand Rks, if we must compare the two, can you find such a grouping of personifications as in the Immortal Seven, the Ameshas, Ahura with his Six? In the Veda they exist indeed, but in sporadic occurrences; not grouped, but torn apart, if we may so explain their scattered distribution, or, it may be, never gathered, and therefore lost to that signal influence which comes from the concentration of ideas. And that combination of the concepts in the Avesta, the good God with His attributes, made up one of the most powerful beliefs that has ever influenced the destiny of men.

With regard also to the differing phases of their hoped-for spiritual future, the most powerful considerations which can operate upon the careers and destinies of men, where do you find such pointed expression of the soul's own judg-

* So, better than Vasishtha.

† I take the liberty to use the term "Veda" here of the Veda proper plus some of its successors.

ment upon itself? Much as the later Indian literature may indeed surpass the later Iranian;—that is to say, if we exclude the middle and later Persian from the literature called “post-Avesta,” in the closeness of its definite discussions,—and more engaging as the primitive Indian may appear in its accumulated attractions, tinged with the charm of a richer fable, yet amid those first voices which arise from the abyss of immemorial antiquity the Avesta can claim that deeper grasp and nobler enthusiasm which lifts the soul higher out of the dust of sensuality into the clear realm where it is freed from the degrading claims of mere self-centred interests, and linked closer in its better aspiration with the spirit of the Divine.

I do not know that we are called upon to take into consideration such a subordinate matter as the range of their respective influence (that of the Avesta and of Veda).

The swarming millions of India, even at an early period, no doubt presented an audience in their cultivated classes which was impressive indeed, and they must be said to surpass any fair estimate of the numbers of those who listened to the Rishis of Old Iran. So also as to the succeeding populations in the accumulating generations, the throngs of quick-witted hearers must have been greatly more compact in India than in the North; and, indeed, may we not with reason say that the learned class was greatly more numerous there than in any other centres, not excluding those of European nations at any past age, and with them even those of the present day? But if we may include all Iran, I am not aware that any one empire in India ever surpassed, or even reached, the dignity of Persia from the time of Cyrus. She was the Rome of Asia, and for centuries, later even subduing repeatedly the forces of the Eternal City. Her literature, as represented by the Zend Avesta in its related lore and in its now lost portions, if not by the echoes of our actual books them-

* With every allowance made for their vastly differing circumstances.

selves, had its effect beyond any manner of doubt upon the Medo-Persian Emperor of Babylon.

Deeply inspired by the entire atmosphere of those thoughts which are so obviously forced upon us from the Inscriptions, and which are as unmistakably seen to be germane to the Avesta, he did not yield his interest so much to the engrossing theologies of Assyria or to the current literature of India, even then (?), perhaps, over-refined, blasé, too nimble of the wit, but he became distinguished by sympathy with a small group of captive tribes (by the waters of Babylon), on whose development were to depend the most extensive religious movements which have ever taken place. India itself could not boast an audience more mighty than the combined Europe which has accepted the lore of the once Jewish exiles, whose Divine Martyr uttered a Persian thought in Persian syllables* at the moment when He was (as has been believed by the West for many centuries) redeeming the very world. Avesta, or something radically akin to it†—that is to say, to a distinct extent identical with it in sisterhood or origin—moved the mind that ordered the restoration of the Holy City and the return of the vanguard people. Surely in the matter of audience, if the ultimate hearers are held in view, Avesta might not fear a comparison with Veda; that is to say if Avesta is as nearly kindred to the Inscriptions as the Inscriptions are to the Scriptures.

In the medieval period the literature of Persia, had it been known in Europe, would have taken a very high if not the leading rank, and until the very latest period; for even at present, as one might say, Persia is entitled to be called the most European of Eastern nations. And it is far from certain that she does not owe all the manhood

* Ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ.

† That the early Avesta was once far more widely extended as oral lore than the portions which have survived to us goes without saying and as of course.

which has ever characterized her from the first to her earliest source of guidance, with its solitary voice proclaiming amid the brutality of an undeveloped age the need for purity as to thought, as to word, and as to deed.

Yes, the Avesta is important, if anything at all like it could be ever called so ; and it should be preserved to us not only as a mass of documents considered by some to be of interest, nor even as a quantity of unique monuments, but most of all as a holy book.

Schools of sound exegesis should be founded freed from every form of corruption, restrictive or advanced. Combinations to stifle or to fetter faithful research should be discouraged and abhorred. Only skilful and prolonged labour can unmask imposture and lay bare the fundamental elements of a subject ; and in all such higher studies, so vital as they are to a sound intellectual development, it is the " truth " alone which " can make us really free."

PLASSY AND SERINGAPATAM : A COMPARISON.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL W. B. BEATSON, M.D.

It is not uncommonly believed that the famous Battle of Plassy, fought on June 23, 1757, and won by the British, decided the future fortunes of India, but this is very far from being the truth.

It is gratifying to the pride of Englishmen to be told how Clive,* with his comparatively small army of 3,000 men, overcame the hosts of Suraj-u-daula ; but it must be remembered that at Plassy, Clive, born soldier that he was, owed more to his good fortune than to his military genius. Suraj-u-daula, the Viceroy of Bengal, against whom Clive fought, was weak and cowardly, flattered but hated by his courtiers, conspired against and misguided by his Ministers.

* It is remarkable that another account of the Battle of Plassy exists, which does not altogether agree with that contained in Macaulay's Essay on Clive. No mention is made of the celebrated council of war. Clive begins his march from near Murshidabad towards Plassy on June 21, at night, through country almost entirely under water, crosses the river by 6 a.m. on the 22nd ; halts till evening, when the march is resumed and Plassy reached at 4 a.m. on the 23rd.

At daybreak the battle begins with an attempt to surround the British, and a brisk cannonade on both sides continues till noon, when heavy rain begins to fall and checks the advance of the enemy.

The cannonade continues till 3 p.m., when the enemy retires without confusion to his camp.

Colonel Clive then retires to Plassy House, "to get dry clothes," leaving Major Kilpatrick in command, with instructions not to advance without orders.

Kilpatrick, however, very soon advances a large detachment and four field pieces. Clive is very angry with Kilpatrick for thus acting without orders, but determines to support him, "to bring on a second action, and to make it decisive." (See "Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain," by Robert Beatson, Esq., LL.D., London, 1804, vol. ii., p. 34.)

Taking this account to be true, it would seem that the victory of Plassy was due to the impetuosity of Kilpatrick rather than to that of Clive, and that it was by no means won, as Macaulay states, "in an hour."

His army, though it mustered in its ranks some of the best and bravest fighting men in India, was an undisciplined and divided force. When its Commander-in-Chief, Meer Jaffir, held back his division, he, of set purpose, gave victory to Clive, designing thereby to raise himself to power.

The victory of Plassy made Clive a rich man. It made the English arbiters of the succession to the sovereignty of Bengal, but it was in no sense decisive of the fate of India.

It was, indeed, a mere affair of outposts, the opening strife preceding a great duel that was to be fought by land and by sea, between the powers of France and England, for the possession of an Empire.

That duel was to continue for more than forty years. It ended only in 1799, when the power of Tippoo Sultan, the usurping ruler of Mysore, was overthrown, and Seringapatam fell to the allied armies of the British and the Nizam of the Deccan.

The story of the life of Clive, of his inborn military genius, untaught and undeveloped only in the school of actual war, of his "undaunted resolution, cool temper and presence of mind, which never left him in the midst of the greatest danger," which made him a leader and a king of men—that story has been told by Macaulay in an essay which will keep Clive's memory green for ever in the minds of Englishmen. But Englishmen should never forget that the foundations of the British Empire in India were not laid by Clive alone, nor by the soldiers he led to battle.

His first successes in Bengal, and those of Forde, Brereton and Coote, in the Carnatic, by which the power of the French in India was reduced, were made possible only by the aid of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, the navy which was then, as it "must for ever be, the bulwark of her strength and the tower of her glory."*

It must be confessed that the success of the British

* R. Beatson's "Naval and Military Memoirs." London, 1804.

naval squadron sent to India during the five years' war that ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, was not great, and gave no promise of future supremacy.

The navy of Great Britain was at that time much superior in strength and number of ships to that of France at home, but in the East Indies France rather than England was mistress of the sea.

Her superiority was due to her possession of a well-fortified naval station in the Isles of France and Bourbon, otherwise called the Mauritius. Here she had two harbours capable of containing 200 sail, and well provided with every requisite for the repair, and even building, of ships. Hence supplies and reinforcements could always be despatched to Pondicherry, the principal and well-fortified settlement of the French on the Coromandel coast, sixty miles south of Madras.

When the naval squadron, commanded by Commodore Barnett, arrived on the Coromandel coast in 1745, it was attacked and dispersed by a fleet sent from the Mauritius, and in the following year the French captured the British settlement of Madras.

At this time the able French General and Minister, Labourdonnais, governed in the Mauritius, and Dupleix at Pondicherry.

These two great Frenchmen completely destroyed the naval and military prestige of the English by compelling Admiral Boscawen to abandon his attacks on the Mauritius and Pondicherry in 1748.

When the siege of Pondicherry was raised, "the French sang *Te Deums*, and gave as many demonstrations of joy as if they had been relieved from the greatest calamities of war. M. Dupleix sent letters to all the Princes of the Coromandel, and even to the Great Moghul himself, acquainting them that he had repulsed the most formidable attack that had ever been made in India, and he received from them the highest compliments on his own prowess, and on the military character of his nation. This, indeed, was now

regarded throughout Hindostan as greatly superior to that of the English.”*

In 1749, the war between France and England having been brought to a close, the rival East India Companies were no longer authorized to fight against each other, but peace between them did not become established. Madras, it was true, was delivered up agreeably to the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, but M. Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, had formed such a plan as would have, in time, secured to the French not only the trade of the whole peninsula of India, but have driven the British from any settlement on the coasts of Coromandel or Malabar. He formed alliances with several of the chief Indian Princes, and afforded them all the aid in his power against their enemies.

The British were compelled to adopt similar measures, and to support other native Princes in their interest ; and thus, in consequence of the ambitious views of M. Dupleix, hostilities continued to be carried on with various success between the two Companies, as if the war in Europe had continued.

In course of these hostilities the French obtained at first the most marked success. In 1750 M. Dupleix, as a reward for his support of Chunda Sahib, a Soubadar of the Carnatic, was declared Governor for the Moghul of all the countries situate to the south of the Kistna. In 1753 M. Bussy, by his wars and negotiations, obtained the sovereignty of the provinces called the Northern Circars. The French were now masters of territory in Southern India, equalling in extent the whole of France, and producing revenues aggregating annually £855,000 sterling.† The English were unfortunate in their alliances, and their power seemed likely to be soon altogether extinguished.

But at this period the military genius and valour of Clive was evoked, and suddenly turned the scale of fortune against the French. In 1752, associated with Major Lawrence, he began war in earnest against Dupleix and

* Orme.

† Probably greatly exaggerated.

his native allies, and obtained many victories, but no decisive result. In 1754 the English Company, finding its resources nearly exhausted, solicited the interference of the Crown; and the French Government, alarmed at the ambitious projects of Dupleix, determined to recall him. His successor, M. Godehue, desired peace, and entered into negotiation with Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, which resulted in a cessation of arms for eighteen months, but before this time expired, in 1756, war had been again proclaimed between England and France, and the Companies were once more free to fight each other. In the meantime the French retained all the territories they had acquired during the war, and were in good condition to renew it.

The first object of the British Council at Madras now was to wrest the Northern Circars from the hands of M. Bussy, as their revenue furnished him with the means of paying his army; the second was to drive him out of the Deccan by means of an alliance with the Nizam. Both these projects were for the time defeated—the first by the miscarriage of despatches from England, the second by the capture of Calcutta by Suraj-u-daula, in June, 1756, which made it necessary to relinquish every plan of hostility in the Deccan in order that a force might be spared sufficient to accomplish the recovery of Calcutta.

It is scarcely possible to imagine a situation more unpromising than that of the English at this juncture; the Governor and Council at Madras were in expectation that their fort would soon be attacked. They knew that all their forces would be required for its defence. They knew that the Company's affairs were ruined if a sufficient force for the recovery of Calcutta were not sent; they knew that they had not at their disposal the shipping necessary for the transport of such a force. The situation was more than unpromising, it was irretrievable, had there not been a power upon the sea greater than all the armed might of France—the power of the navy of Great Britain.

Admiral Watson, with a squadron of three ships of the line, one of fifty guns, two frigates, and a sloop, had just returned to Madras, after reducing Gheriah, the stronghold of a Mahratta pirate chief on the Malabar Coast, and was under orders to return to England; but at the request of the Madras authorities he embarked a detachment of troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Clive and set sail for Calcutta. After innumerable troubles and difficulties he arrived at that port before the end of the year, and began the operations that ended with the Battle of Plassy. It should ever be remembered that, without the assistance and strong determination of Watson and his naval force, Clive would never have reached Calcutta, Chandernagore would not have been taken, the field of Plassy would not have been fought, and the French would have remained masters of the situation in Bengal.

Scarcely was Clive's power established when the illustrious Admiral Watson died from the effects of the climate. His death would have been more severely felt had not the next in command been Admiral Pocock, who was happily equal to the trust now reposed in him. He had scarcely assumed the command before he had the occasion to exert all his abilities to save the Company's settlements on the Coromandel coast from total ruin. Arrived in Madras Roads, the Admiral was joined on March 24, 1758, by Commodore Stevens with ships and reinforcements from England, and on April 28 a French squadron of somewhat superior strength, commanded by the Admiral M. D'Aché, appeared, and landed the Comte de Lally and his staff.

On the following morning the French ships were defeated in action, and driven to take refuge under the batteries of Pondicherry. The British put to sea to refit and get to windward of Fort St. David, but were unable to reach it before July 27. Lally in the meantime took Fort St. David, and might easily have seized Madras had he attacked it without delay, but he preferred to wait till the change of the monsoon obliged Pocock to leave the coast.

On July 28, 1758, D'Aché, having sighted the British squadron, stood out to sea, steering to the south. On August 3, after much manœuvring, he was forced to engage, badly beaten, and again obliged to seek shelter under the batteries of Pondicherry. On September 3 he sailed for the Mauritius, and shortly afterwards Pocock withdrew with his squadron to Bombay. Lally at once put his army into motion, and, uniting forces with M. Bussy, laid siege to Madras on December 14.

The fort was vigorously defended for nine weeks, but would probably have fallen had not the navy again come to the rescue. On February 16, 1759, Captain Kempenfelt, with two twenty-gun ships and six other vessels, having on board stores and reinforcements, came to anchor in Madras Roads. The moment Lally perceived them he made everything ready to raise the siege, and by dawn on the 17th was nearly out of sight. Retreating to Conjeveram, he made over charge to M. Soupires, and made the best of his way to Pondicherry.

From this time the tide of fortune turned against the French. The native powers of the Northern Circars rose against them, took their settlement at Vizagapatam, and made overtures to Clive (then in Calcutta) for assistance. A force sent by sea from Bengal to Vizagapatam joined a detachment from Madras, under Colonel Forde, advanced against M. Conflans, the French commander in the Circars, defeated him at Golapool, took the fort of Rajmundry, and on March 7 attacked Masulipatam.

Salabat Jung, Viceroy of the Deccan, advanced to within forty miles of Masulipatam, and there, like a true Eastern politician, awaited the event of the siege.

On the fort surrendering, he at once entered into an alliance with the English, and signed a treaty by which he transferred the Northern Circars to them and excluded the French from his service and dominions. The squadrons of D'Aché and Pocock returned to the Coromandel coast in August, 1759.

Their disproportion was so great that the French had a superiority of 192 guns and 2,365 men, besides a great advantage in the size of their ships. This extraordinary force, the like of which had yet never been seen in the Indian seas, was chased, invited and even provoked to fight by the weaker squadron.*

After several days of manœuvring, both fleets began to cannonade each other. They continued to engage till 4 p.m., when the French bore away and steered to the S.S.E. under all the sail they could make. The English ships, having received great damage aloft, could not chase, and the French were in consequence able to return to Pondicherry and land troops and treasure which Lally greatly needed.

D'Aché could not be induced to fight again, and shortly afterwards retreated to the Mauritius, never again to return.

Naval warfare on the Coromandel coast then virtually came to an end. Two French frigates remained before Pondicherry, but they were ere long cut out by the boats of squadrons under Admiral Stevens and Cornish, which then became simply a blockading force.

After the departure of M. D'Aché's fleet the affairs of the French went rapidly to ruin. On January 22, 1760, Colonel Eyre Coote, aided by Brereton and Monson, defeated them at Wandewash and made M. Bussy prisoner.

Chettapat, Arcat, Carical, and other important military positions, then fell to the conquerors, and M. de Lally was in the month of May driven into Pondicherry. Here he maintained an obstinate but hopeless defence through the rest of the year. At last, compelled by scarcity, disaffection, and the constant fire of the English batteries, he surrendered on January 15, 1761.

This conquest put an end to the French power on the Coromandel coast and annihilated their East India Company. The British now commanded the whole commerce of the Eastern Peninsula of India from the Ganges to the

* R. Beatson's "Naval and Military Memoirs," vol. ii., p. 205.

Indus, then the most extensive and the most profitable sphere of commerce in the world.

The fall of Pondicherry might perhaps have decided the fate of the French in India had the Mauritius now been wrested from them, but a fleet sent from England to attack the islands was countermanded, and in September, 1763, the disgraceful Treaty of Paris restored to France her Indian possessions.

The peace which George III. should have made with his aggrieved colonial subjects was granted to his defeated foreign foes, who soon again turned their swords against his power. France and Spain both leagued themselves with England's revolted American colonies, and the Directors of the East India Company, seeing that war was inevitable, determined to expel the French from India.

In August, 1778, Pondicherry was attacked by General Munro, aided by a naval squadron under Sir Edward Vernon. The defending French, under M. Tronjolly, being put to flight, the garrison capitulated after holding out resolutely for two months.*

On March 14, 1779, an English force took possession of Mahé, on the Malabar coast. After this conquest the French had not a flag left flying in India; but they still had a friend and ally in the great Indian General and statesman, Hyder Ali Khan, the father of Tippoo Sahib.

Hyder Ali was perhaps the greatest soldier ever born in India. So remarkable was his genius that it has been compared with that of Frederick II. of Prussia and other great European statesmen. Of obscure birth, the son of the Governor of a small fort under the Rajah of Mysore, he became the most formidable and potent Prince in Southern India. As a soldier of fortune he acquired the rudiments of war in the camps of the French, and served them as an auxiliary in the plains of Trichinopoly in 1753. Ten years later, having become Commander-in-Chief of the Mysore

* R. Beatson's "Naval and Military Memoirs," vol. iv., p. 452.

army, he dethroned his master and proclaimed himself Regent. In a short time he extended his dominions on every side except the Carnatic, till he was at last at the head of a State equal in extent to Great Britain, and producing a gross revenue of, say, £4,000,000.

Hyder Ali was not only an enterprising soldier : he was an able administrator and financier, a profound politician, and a skilled diplomatist. Although entirely illiterate, he was skilled in sophistry. He seldom adhered to the spirit of an inconvenient engagement, but he professed never to deviate from its letter, and the oracle of Delphi was not more skilful in framing an equivocal sentence. He was austere and simple in his personal habits, just and conciliatory when it suited him to be so, remorseless in cruelty even to his defeated foes. His hatred of the English was intense : on their expulsion from Southern India he had set his heart.

Such was the enemy with whom the weak and vacillating Council of Madras, divided against itself and in disagreement with its native ally, the Nawab of the Carnatic, was now to be at war. That war began with disaster and ended with disgrace, and during its four years' continuance British prestige and power in Southern India, although sustained by prodigies of valour, was humbled to the very dust.

Hyder Ali in 1780 invaded the Carnatic with 100,000 troops, well equipped with artillery and cavalry, aided by French officers and troops, both horse and foot, and amply supplied with stores from the Mauritius. In a short time he cut to pieces a detachment under Colonel Baillie, and forced Sir Hector Munro and the main body of his army to fall back upon Madras. Everything might now have been lost but for the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote from Bengal, with a brigade of about 7,000 men, money, and provisions.

Coote carried on war against Hyder Ali during two campaigns, and defeated him in several hard-fought fields ; but he was for want of cavalry never able to follow up his

victories, and frequently in danger of being surrounded and forced by famine to surrender.

This, indeed, must have been the fate of all the British forces in the Carnatic but for the powerful aid of the navy at the most critical period of the war.

In 1782 the French, acting in concert with Hyder Ali, had formed a plan for driving the English from the coast of Coromandel.

Having acquired a great naval superiority in the Indian seas, they felt sure of being able to take or destroy the small English squadron commanded at the time by Sir Edward Hughes.

Having accomplished this, they were to assist Hyder Ali with a large body of land forces, and to lay siege to Madras by sea and land with their joint forces.

Hyder Ali was highly pleased with this plan. A naval force sufficient to crush that of the British was what he chiefly desired from France. He knew that if he could only get the two Powers to destroy each other on the sea everything on land would soon be at his disposal.

To carry out this programme, a French squadron, commanded by M. de Suffren, arrived on the coast on February 7, and anchored off Pulicat, twenty-two miles north of Madras.

It consisted of twelve sail of the line, one being a captured British ship of fifty guns, four frigates, six captured traders, and eight large armed transports with 3,000 troops on board, under the command of M. Duche-min. To oppose this powerful fleet Admiral Sir Edward Hughes had only nine line of battle ships, one frigate, and a fireship ; but this small force was a greater one than the French Admiral expected to meet, and he therefore deemed it prudent to place his convoy in safety before offering battle.

Accordingly, on the 15th he weighed anchor and stood to the southward, followed by the British squadron. On the 16th Sir Edward Hughes succeeded in cutting off six

sail of the convoy, including one of the transports, having on board many French officers, 300 men of the Lausanne regiment, and a valuable cargo of artillery and military stores. The two squadrons then closed, and a hot action ensued off Sadras, which was fiercely fought on both sides, but not decisive. The French ships, in a very shattered condition, escaped to Porto Novo. There they disembarked all their infantry and marines to join the army of Tippoo Sahib, who with this reinforcement immediately marched against Cuddalore, the garrison of which capitulated without a shot being fired.

The English squadron, having suffered considerably, proceeded to Trincomalee, and thence to Madras as speedily as possible. The British Admiral fell in again with the French fleet off Trincomalee on April 9, and on the 12th fought another battle, more furious and bloody than the last, but without decisive result, the French drawing off to Battacolo, and the English entering Trincomalee Harbour to refit. Sir Edward Hughes was there detained two months by the prevalence of sickness in his squadron, and by that time M. de Suffren was able to refit and proceed to Cuddalore. Here he made over the remainder of his reinforcements and prisoners to Hyder Ali, who marched his army from Arcot to Pondicherry to receive him.

After this the squadrons fought two more actions, which, like the first, were indecisive, but very disastrous to the French. In the last M. de Suffren did his best to obtain a victory by at once gallantly closing with his adversary, but after a hard fight, which was ended only by the approach of night, he had to retreat to Trincomalee, having lost 1,100 men killed and wounded. In the retreat one of his ships sunk and two struck on the rocks, and might have been captured had the British ships been in a condition to pursue. They were, however, so disabled as to be totally unfit for a chase. Soon after this action Sir Edward Hughes sailed for Bombay, and Suffren to the Dutch settlement at

Acheen, where it had been agreed that the Marquis de Bussy should meet him with a large reinforcement of ships and troops from the Mauritius. The naval action, of which Sir Edward Hughes was hero, did much to restore the prestige of the British, and probably more to bring the war to an end than all the victories they had hitherto gained in the Carnatic.

Hyder Ali now saw that the French could not beat the English on the sea, or render him all the assistance they had promised. Without proper supplies from the Mauritius, he could not carry on the war, the devastated Carnatic could not feed, nor the revenues of Mysore pay the vast armies he had raised. His first successes in the field had been neutralized by the serious defeats inflicted on him by Sir Eyre Coote. He feared that the Mahrattas were about to unite with the British against him. All these circumstances greatly impaired his health, and led him to make some overtures for peace; but towards the end of the year he died, and his son, Tippoo Sahib, becoming Nawab of Mysore and General-in-Chief of its armies, dropped the negotiation, and gave every assurance to the French of his fidelity and attachment to them, and of his fixed determination to prosecute a vigorous war against the English.

In the first month of 1783, M. de Suffren's fleet again appeared off Ganjam, and, meeting no British squadron, threatened an attack on Madras; but as soon as he heard of the death of Hyder Ali, Suffren withdrew to Trincomalee, capturing on his way a British frigate and several traders. At Trincomalee he was joined by M. Bussy with three men-of-war and 3,000 land troops. These he conducted to Cuddalore, where they landed and proceeded to fortify themselves. On April 13 Sir Edward Hughes' fleet arrived in the Bay of Bengal. The British naval force was now considerably superior to that of the French, but its efficiency was paralyzed by the prevalence of scurvy among the crews and the difficulty of obtaining water. Nevertheless, falling in with the French squadron

on June 24, Sir Edward Hughes did not hesitate to attack. The action was, as usual, indecisive, but with it the naval war on the Coromandel coast came to an end. On June 27, a cessation of arms between the two commanders was agreed to, information having arrived of the signing and ratification of preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America.

After the death of Hyder Ali, active hostilities between Tippoo and the English ceased for some time. Tippoo, now Tippoo Sultan-Bahadur, had to turn his attention to his own capital and the establishment of his succession, which was not altogether unopposed. Probably peace might now have been arranged, but the British Councils in Madras and Bombay, wisely or unwisely, determined upon a continuance of the war. It was supposed that an attack on the western side of Mysore would draw Tippoo from the Carnatic. It had that effect, but that part of the British plan which regarded the security of the forces employed was ill-concerted. Tippoo in consequence reaped all the successes of the campaign, and inflicted on the English disasters and defeat. He compelled General Matthews, holding Bedinore, to capitulate under promise of honourable treatment, but, instead of keeping his word, he made all that remained of the force prisoners of war, and threw them into the dungeons of Mysore, where they were made to endure starvation and misery and tortures worse than death, till many of them obtained release by suicide.

At this time, we are told, the condition of affairs in the Carnatic was such that everyone in Europe had made up his mind to the certain loss of some capital settlement, or to the mutiny of one of the Indian armies for want of pay, and many persons thought that they saw the total destruction of British power in India. The action of the Madras Council was scarcely more fortunate than that of Bombay. Owing to the death of Sir Eyre Coote, and the contentions of the Council with his successor, General Stuart, nothing

was done till Tippoo left the Carnatic. Then, with the knowledge that peace was near at hand, they attacked the French at Cuddalore, only to reap a doubtful and worthless victory at the cost of a hecatomb of valuable lives. Tippoo, now finding that the French had left him, and fearing that he would be attacked by his old enemies the Mahrattas, condescended, though reluctantly, to make peace, and matters were restored to nearly the condition they were in before the commencement of hostilities.

The treaty of peace signed at Mangalore in March, 1784, was the disgrace to the English Government with which the war ended. It was concluded at a time when an effective blow might well have been struck at the cruel, crafty, and insolent foe, who had murdered and held in slavery British soldiers, and had made ambassadors of peace the subjects of insult. It exacted from him no retribution. It restored to him all his possessions, and did not stipulate for the security of all our allies. It left him a plausible pretext for recommencing hostilities, of which he did not fail afterwards to take advantage.

During the cessation of actual warfare, the designs of Tippoo continued uniformly hostile, and his powers of executing them considerable, while the degree of safety of the British fluctuated with the state of their military establishments and preparations, and with the distribution of their force. The baneful effects of this perpetual state of uncertainty and solicitude were felt not only in the decay of agriculture and peaceful arts, but in the rebellious spirit which arose on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, and occasionally throughout all India, in the diminution of British influence at foreign Courts, in the rising hopes of the turbulent and disaffected, and in the decline of public and private credit, shaken by the repeated rumours of war, and by the constant necessity of guarding against surprise from the sudden aggression of an enemy, whom no clemency nor moderation could conciliate, and no faith could bind. Under such circumstances it was impossible

that peace between Tippoo Sultan and the English could long be preserved. In 1790 it became necessary to send a force against him to relieve the Rajah of Travancore, whom he had attacked, regardless of the treaty of 1784. Of the warfare that followed, very full accounts are to be found in Major Dirom's narrative of the campaign that terminated in 1792, and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Beatson's view of the war on Tippoo Sultan, which ended with the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. These works should be read by everyone who takes interest in the military history of the English in India during the growth of that empire which forms the brightest jewel in the British crown.

They are minute in detail, but not altogether complete, for Colonel Beatson's historical monograph is, of course, silent concerning himself and the share that was his in bringing the last war with Tippoo Sultan to a successful issue by the reduction of Seringapatam, while that of Major Dirom gives an incorrect account of the action of Captain Beatson in an important affair, which was the subject of much discussion at the time, and is still a matter of interest to students of military tactics.

Seringapatam was first attacked by Lord Cornwallis in 1791, after the siege and capture of Bangalore, which fixed the war in the enemy's country, and was decisive of its success. But owing to the late arrival of the Mahratta army and other unfortunate circumstances Lord Cornwallis was compelled to withdraw from the siege after destroying the greatest part of the battering train and equipment of his forces. A second attempt to take the fortress by surprise was made on the night of February 6, 1792, when Tippoo Sultan's entrenched camp, within the Bound hedge of the fortress, was attacked in three columns by Lord Cornwallis. It was not entirely successful, owing to a deviation from his lordship's original intentions regarding the operations of the right column under the command of General Meadows.

Major Dirom states that this deviation was the con-

sequence of the column being conducted to the wrong point by the native guides, so that it was brought immediately against a redoubt on its right, which Lord Cornwallis had determined should be left untouched. But no such mistake was made: the column was conducted precisely to the right spot by Captain Beatson, the officer of guides attached to the column, who then pointed out to Colonel Nesbitt, who led the 36th and 37th Regiments, that he should turn to the left so as to co-operate with the centre column. Colonel Nesbitt, a very zealous and active officer, considered it to be his bounden duty to adhere strictly to written orders, which, unfortunately, did not clearly express Lord Cornwallis's intention that the Eedgah redoubt should not be attacked. They directed him to turn either to the left or the right, according to his position westward or eastward of a certain point. He decided to turn to the right, and after an obstinate struggle obtained possession of the redoubt, but he lost 11 officers and 80 men killed and wounded, and afterwards found it impossible to join the centre column.

There is reason to believe that if this unfortunate attack had not been made, if the column had turned to the left instead of the right, Tippoo would on this occasion have been completely defeated, his own retreat to his citadel would have been cut off, and he would have lost all his guns and everything he had on the north side of the river long before the break of day, when his troops rallied and pressed severely on the central column under the personal command of Lord Cornwallis.

The night attack was followed, on the 7th, by a battle in which the English gained a signal victory. The enemy was forced to retreat from all his redoubts and entrenchments on the north side of the river, and by the evening the whole of his field forces deserted, dispersed over the country, and never again encamped themselves or made any formidable appearance, while fifty-seven of the foreigners in Tippoo's service sought safety in the British camp. On the

8th the Sultan thought it desirable to negotiate for peace. Accordingly he released two European officers taken by him at the surrender of Coimbatore in 1791, and since detained as prisoners contrary to the rules of war. These gentlemen he sent as ambassadors with letters and excuses to Lord Cornwallis, soon following them by a small select party of horsemen instructed to surprise and assassinate the British commander. The plot failed, and Lord Cornwallis weakly yielded to the Sultan's request, and consented to admit his vakeels to confer with those of the allied armies. The vakeels duly arrived, but only to carry on their work with procrastination and delay. Tippoo, in the meantime, continued to fire on the British camp, so that it became necessary to prepare for an assault on his citadel.

Lord Cornwallis was now reinforced by Lord Abercromby, with an army from Bombay, and approaches were vigorously carried out. By the 24th the breaching batteries were established, and everything was ready for the assault, when a general order was issued for the cessation of hostilities in consequence of the Sultan having signed a preliminary treaty of peace. Thus was the second attack on Seringapatam put an end to, according to Major Dirom, "by an advantageous and glorious peace."

The terms of this treaty might be considered advantageous to the British, but in itself it was neither glorious nor just, for it allowed Tippoo to retain the throne his father had usurped, to the exclusion of its rightful heir; it granted life to the cruel tyrant, who by his many murders merited nothing but death. The treaty of 1792 left Tippoo humiliated but not crushed, and the position of the English precarious. Tippoo had ceded half of his territories, and promised to pay an indemnity of, say, £3,000,000. He had given up his prisoners, and made over his two eldest sons as hostages. His hatred of the English, and his determination to overthrow their power, still burnt as fiercely as ever. He incited the ruler of Cabul, Zemaun Shah, to threaten an invasion of Bengal, he intrigued with

all the native Princes of India, and made fresh overtures to his old allies, the French.

In the year 1796 his intrigues and military movements compelled the Governor-General to assemble an army on the Coromandel coast, and in the autumn of 1797 such apprehensions were entertained of his designs and power as induced Lord Hobart, the Governor of Fort St. George, to relinquish an expedition assembled for an attack on the Dutch settlements, which was imposed upon the English Government by the alliance of Holland with the revolutionary rulers of France, who had declared war against England in 1793. At this time British interests in India were menaced by a combination of most serious dangers. Zemaun Shah was threatening invasion from the north-west. Our alliances in the Deccan were far from being secure. A French faction and army overruled the Nizam at Hyderabad. The Madras army was badly distributed, and could not be assembled or moved without provoking Tippoo to invade the Carnatic.

Alarm and despondency increased when it became known that Tippoo had sent an embassy to the Mauritius, with letters addressed not only to the Governor of the Islands, but to the Executive Directory of France, asking the aid of a force, and that M. Malartic, the Governor of the Mauritius, had issued a proclamation encouraging the subjects of France to enter Tippoo's service. In consequence of this proclamation, the French frigate *La Preneuse*, with the Sultan's ambassadors and the French troops levied for his service, arrived at Mangalore on April 26, 1798, and were warmly welcomed by Tippoo. On the same day a letter was received at Fort William by him, declaring "that his friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two nations."

Under these and other circumstances, too numerous to be now detailed, it appeared to Lord Mornington, the newly appointed Governor-General of India, that an

immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultan, for the purpose of frustrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge, was demanded by the soundest maxims, both of justice and policy. He therefore determined to assemble armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar to oppose the landing of the French, to defend the Carnatic from the invasion of Tippoo, to attack him on two sides of his dominions, and thus to compel him to surrender.

It was a plan grandly conceived, but not easily to be carried out, and its failure would have insured the triumph of Tippoo, the re-establishment of French power, and the fall of that of the English in Southern India. In order to explain the reasons which led Lord Mornington to direct his principal attack against the fortified capital of Mysore, it is necessary to refer not only to Lieutenant-Colonel Beatson's account of the war, but to the records preserved by his family of his services, of which little, if any, mention is made either by contemporaneous or modern historians. During his previous years of service he had been employed on various military expeditions and surveys in Southern India, and had acquired high reputation as an Engineer officer. On July 7, 1798, he was sent for by Lord Mornington, and on his passage to Calcutta he prepared "A Sketch of a Plan of Operation against Tippoo Sultan," in which he advocated the reduction of Seringapatam as affording the only probable chance of shortening the war, crushing the power of the enemy, or of bringing him to such terms as might be deemed wise and expedient.

Although this mode of conducting the war differed from Lord Mornington's plan of attacking the Sultan "on both sides of his dominions" (as stated in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated March 29, 1799), yet being of that character which accorded with his lordship's natural disposition, he was pleased, even upon a first view, to approve it highly, and, in the course of a few days, having most minutely examined it, and Major Beatson having

afforded "satisfactory information on the extensive and arduous questions to which it gave rise" upon every point connected with the formation of the grand army for the siege of Seringapatam, and his lordship being fully satisfied of the practicability of undertaking the siege at the time the proper season should arrive, he directed all his measures and preparations to that single object. Major Beatson had, however, been careful to point out that, to insure the success of his plan, it was necessary to have the assistance of the Mahrattas and the Nizam, or that both these powers should stand neutral. Lord Mornington therefore applied himself to the strengthening of our alliances with them, and to the destruction of the French influence to which the Nizam had become subject.

This was effected, much to the satisfaction of the Nizam, by the disarmament of the French Sepoys, and the deportation of their officers, and by an increase of the subsidy and contingent force hitherto allowed him. Further, in consequence of the preparations known to be making in the Mediterranean by the French, he arranged with Admiral Rainier for the defence of the Malabar coast by a naval squadron. Finally, the news of Lord Nelson's glorious victory on the Nile so much improved the aspect of affairs that the Governor-General deemed the opportunity now favourable for the opening of negotiations with Tippoo Sultan.

The honourable Court of Directors at this time had no desire to increase their territories by conquest, and while they granted to the Governor-General full power, they desired he should use it with the utmost discretion, so that they might not be involved in a war without the most inevitable necessity. Accordingly, Lord Mornington addressed to Tippoo several amicable letters and remonstrances, and gave him every opportunity of obtaining peace on favourable terms, but to all these the Sultan turned a deaf ear or gave only trifling and evasive replies.

War being thus forced upon us, the Governor-General, on February 3, 1799, directed Lieutenant-General Harris

to enter Mysore with the army assembled under his command. Lieutenant-General Stuart was warned to be in readiness to co-operate from Malabar. At the same time, Admiral Rainier and the several allies of the Company were informed that the British Government in India was now at war with Tippoo Sultan. Lord Mornington had already proceeded to Madras, hoping to open negotiations for peace. Major Beatson accompanied him as Aide-de-Camp, and was appointed Surveyor-General to the army in the field, in order that his assistance might be given to the Engineer Department.

Upon the arrival of the army in Seringapatam, General Harris desired Major Beatson to reconnoitre and form a plan of attack. It happened on this occasion that his opinions did not accord with those already formed by the Engineers of Madras and Bombay. A meeting was held at head-quarters, at which were present the principal staff officers of the army, including the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. The two plans of attack were discussed in the presence of those officers, and Major Beatson firmly adhered to his plan of attack upon the north-west angle of the fort.

Colonel Sartorius, the Chief Engineer of Bombay, advised an attack upon the south-west, as had at first been recommended by the Madras Engineers, but would not give a final opinion till he had again examined the position. Having done so, he addressed a letter to the Commander-in-Chief which was merely a confirmation of his previous opinion. This not being considered satisfactory, General Harris declared that Major Beatson's plan should be carried into effect. This placed him in a position of terrible responsibility, for had the attack failed the Engineers might have said "the plan was not theirs, for they had disapproved of it, and that the failure was only to be ascribed to the preference given to Major Beatson's opinion." It is deserving of notice that at the very time Major Beatson was occupied at sea in planning a campaign by which

he calculated upon the capture of Seringapatam in April or May, 1799, "some officers (as Lord Mornington states in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated March 20, 1799), of approved military talents, experience and integrity, at Fort St. George, declared that the army in the Carnatic could not be assembled for offensive purposes before the year 1800, and that a period of six months would be required for its equipment, even for the purpose of defending the Carnatic against any sudden attack."

Such being the opinion of the officers alluded to, it may readily be imagined that Lord Mornington's orders of June 20, 1798, for assembling the armies, occasioned a very considerable alarm at Madras, and that grave doubts were entertained as to the issue of the campaign that was to follow, but these were speedily dissipated by its rapid and unexampled success.

On March 9 the whole of the forces under Lieutenant-General Harris, consisting of British and native infantry, artillery, and cavalry, in all 30,959 fighting men, were assembled at Kelamangalum, on the eastern border of Mysore. On April 5 the army, having accomplished a march of a hundred miles through the enemy's country, and exposed to his frequent attacks, encamped on the west face of the fortress of Seringapatam, at a distance of 3,500 yards, and began to open trenches and construct batteries for the siege, in the face of constant fire from the forts and outlying entrenchments.

On the night of the 20th Tippoo Sultan sent a letter to Lord Harris, expressing a desire to negotiate for peace, but on terms being submitted he refused to consent to them. By the end of the month all the batteries were in readiness, and began their fire on the curtain, sixty yards to the right of the north-west bastion. On the evening of the third a practicable breach was established, and on the following afternoon the proud fortress of Seringapatam, believed by its master to be impregnable, and stoutly defended by him to the last, was carried by assault.

Before nightfall the body of Tippoo Sultan was found in a gateway on the north face of the fort, encumbered by a heap of slain. Tippoo, the usurper of a kingdom, had fallen by the hand of a common soldier, who robbed him of his jewelled belt. He who had left his palace in the morning a powerful imperious Sultan, full of vast projects of ambition, was brought back a lump of clay, abandoned by the whole world, his kingdom overthrown, his capital taken, and his palace occupied by the very man, Major-General Baird, who, about fifteen years before, had been, with other victims of cruelty and tyranny, relieved from near four years of rigid confinement in irons, in a prison scarce 300 yards from the spot where the corpse of the Sultan now lay.

The resistance offered by the garrison was not great, and, so soon as it was overcome, General Baird directed his immediate attention to the protection of the inmates of the palace and the inhabitants of the city. The worst consequences were to be apprehended from the assault of so large and rich a city by soldiers animated by revenge against the murderer of their comrades.

But all violence ceased with the conflict, and it is but justice to add, although about 8,000 of the enemy's troops were killed in the assault, very few of the unarmed inhabitants suffered, and these, unavoidably, from random shot, a circumstance we may venture to pronounce unprecedented, which is to be ascribed, not only to the high discipline of the troops and the humane exertions of the officers, but to the happy choice of time for making the assault, which enabled them to discriminate, and to their operations being confined solely to the ramparts.

On the morning of May 5 Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Arthur, Duke of Wellington) was appointed to the permanent command of Seringapatam, and used every possible exertion to prevent excesses of every kind. The inhabitants who had quitted the town during the night of the storm returned quietly to their houses and occupations. In a few days the

bazaars were stored with all sorts of provisions and merchandise, for which there was a ready and advantageous sale. The main street of Seringapatam, three days after the fort was taken, was so much crowded as to be almost impassable, and exhibited almost more the appearance of a fair than that of a town just taken by assault. After the dispersion of the late Sultan's armies, and the surrender of the fortresses in Canara and other parts of his dominions, the cultivators of the land returned quietly to their occupations, and showed every disposition to submit to the orders of the British Government.

The taking of Seringapatam by assault was an affair in every respect different from the Battle of Plassy. Plassy was magnificent, but it was not war. Seringapatam was both. At Plassy, the rash valour of Clive placed British power upon a pinnacle from which it might at any moment be hurled down. At Seringapatam the calm statesmanship of a Wellesley planted it on a firm base, beneath which slumbered no upheaving force.

From the field of Plassy the victor reaped for himself a golden harvest; at Seringapatam he restored a kingdom to its rightful heir.

The campaign that closed the Mysore War in 1799 was, perhaps, the shortest, the most successful, and the most decisive that was ever fought in any part of the world by any military power. It was decisive for the British: it not only excluded the French from Mysore, but, by the destruction of their ally, it made their return impracticable. It made all Southern India free from military oppression, and made peace possible throughout the land. It replaced the Khudadad Sircar of Tippoo Sultan by a government indeed given by God.

In the military occupation of India by the English, their enemies have affected to see nothing but unrighteousness and robbery and wrong—the triumph of a powerful and warlike race over a timid and unresisting people. Some Englishmen at first regarded it as the madness of a company

of merchants, extending their views from the drudgery of traffic to universal empire, and rushing on to ruin. But the history just recounted tells a different tale.

It shows us the English in India, forced into war by the ambition of a rival European Power, and by the oppression and cruelty and implacability of native rulers. We see them assisted in their wars by native soldiers and races struggling to be free, leading small battalions of Europeans against overwhelming hosts, sustaining great disasters, often escaping with the skin of their teeth, yet winning great victories on land, their soldiers aided by the power of England on the sea. All this done at a time when England herself "had entered on a conflict with enemies whose circle ever widened, till she stood single-handed against the world."

That the English never did any wrong, were never guilty of any acts of oppression, cannot be maintained. Some of the acts of Warren Hastings, and of Clive in Bengal, and of General Matthews at Bednore, for example, cannot be defended. All we can say is that these men were but instruments in the hands of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, whose ordinances we cannot question, whose servants we have no right to judge. Doubtless some wrong was done by the English in India in their early struggles, but the general issue has been all for good, and on the record of the wars and administrations of Lords Cornwallis and Wellesley there rests not a single stain.

A hundred years have passed away since Seringapatam was taken. What is now the condition of Southern India?

Provinces once devastated by Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo now show no sign of military occupation, suffer from no famine caused by war. The great fortress is now a ruin traversed by a railway. Within its walls the temple of Sri-ranga and the mosque of Hyder Ali still stand side by side. The gongs of the Brahmans still sound—the

muazzin still calls the Mussulman to prayer throughout the land; but where Tippoo converted with the sword, Christian missionaries have established the religion of the Cross.

Thus has the decisive victory won at Seringapatam advanced towards perfection the work begun by the English in India on the field of Plassy.

CHINESE KNOWLEDGE OF EARLY PERSIA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE Chinese never heard of the conquests of Alexander the Great, and as the Macedonians themselves knew nothing of Europe beyond the Mediterranean, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the latter were totally ignorant of China. Two great civilizations grew up independently in the Far East and the Far West, with Persia lying between them, each of the two considering itself "the world," or the best part of the world. After Alexander had extended his annexations to the sources of the Oxus and the Indus, it is not unlikely that stray traders occasionally found their way between the eastern and western extremes; indeed, they are likely to have done so thousands of years before Alexander was heard of; for the world went on its way without records much as it did with records. But things which are neither recorded, nor evidenced by antiquarian remains of equal value with records, are exactly in the historical position of things which never occurred at all. Hence the positive Chinese statements, officially repeated dozens of times, to the effect that "until 140 B.C. no Westerners ever had relations with China, and until that same date China never knew of the existence of Western Asia," are not only reasonable, but may be accepted as strictly true for all reasonable purposes.

The circumstances under which the Chinese discovered the West have already been briefly narrated in this journal.* Emerging restlessly from a great social revolution, China first became a *Weltmacht* in 200, B.C. and just at this very time the Scythians, or Hiung-nu as the Chinese called them, also developed unwonted activity in the Far East. It is not unlikely that this exceptional display of nomad energy on the Chinese frontiers may have been in part the reflex action first of Alexander's, and next of his Seleucid successors'

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1902, "The Ephthalite Turks."

activity on the Oxus. But of that we do not know anything, either from Western or Chinese sources. All we know is that on the Chinese north-west borders nomad squabbles amongst themselves led to the displacement by the supreme Scythian power of two subordinate hordes which had long settled in the fertile tract separating the Tibetan from the Mongol deserts; and that both these subordinate nomad powers (like their masters, probably "Turks") had to fly west for safety. They thus showed China the diplomatic road, and China at once sent envoys to see what they were doing. The first Chinese history deserving the name of history was completed before the year 85 B.C., and the first start of an envoy towards the West took place in 140 B.C. Hence it is plain that whatever living facts the history in question* has to narrate about the Persian region must lie between those extreme dates. The following is absolutely all that is stated about Parthia:

1. "An-sih is some thousands of *li* to the west of Ta-yüeh-chi. Habits settled, with tillage of the fields, and cultivation of rice, wheat, and grape wine. Walled cities, as in Ta-yüan. Subordinate to it there are several hundred walled places, small and great. The land is several thousand *li* in extent, and it is a very great country. It is on the Kwei Water. There are bazaars, the people and the traders making use of carts and boats to travel to the adjoining states, sometimes several thousand *li*. They use silver for coins, the coins showing their King's features. Whenever the King dies, the coins are renewed, so as to show the (new) King's face. They make signs on leather, from side to side, by way of literary records. West of them is T'iao-chi; north An-ts'ai and Li-kien. . . . The old people of An-sih have a story that the (traditional) Weak Water and West Queen Mother are in T'iao-chi, but they have never been seen. . . . So Chang K'ien (on his second mission 118 B.C.) sent assistant envoys on mis-

* The *Shi-ki* of Sz-ma Ts'ien, recently translated into French by M. Ed. Chavannes.

sions to Ta-yüan, K'ang-kü, Ta-yüeh-chi, Ta-hia, An-sih, Shên-tuh, Yü-t'ien, etc. . . . More missions (111 B.C.) were sent out, which reached An-sih, An-ts'ai, Li-kien, T'iao-chi, and Shên-tuh States. . . . At first when the Han envoys reached An-sih, the King of An-sih gave orders for 20,000 horsemen to meet them on the east frontier, distant from the royal capital several thousand *li* of journey. By the time they got there, they had passed several tens of cities, with a continuous and very numerous population. It was after the Han envoys had returned that they sent missions in the wake of the Han envoys to come and inspect the magnitude of China. Each* man took a great bird's egg, with clever Li-kien conjurers to offer to Han. . . . From Wu-sun westwards to An-sih there was the propinquity of the Hiung-nu to be considered, and the Hiung-nu were pressing the Yüeh-chi very hard. . . . From Ta-yüan westwards to An-sih, the states, though varying considerably in dialect, are still of much the same manners, and know each other's speech. The people are all deep-eyed, and mostly bearded and whiskered; good traders, chaffering over the smallest coin."

Comments on 1.—The above is the total evidence. It has never been doubted by European translators that "An-sih" was Parthia, and since, about thirty years ago, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill suggested that the word "Ar-sac" was meant, it has been definitely accepted on both historical and etymological grounds that the Chinese, who from the name of their ruling house, called themselves "Han," in a like way applied the dynastic style to the Parthian Empire, whose monarchs, from Arsac the founder to Arsac XXX., all took the same name of "Arsac," irrespectively of their own private names. Moreover, the modern Beloochees call the Persians "Kadjar," from the Turkish dynasty now supreme in those regions (Sykes). The Ta-yüeh-chi were the Indo-Scyths, or Ephthalites, of Sogdiana, Bactriana,

* This is so in my edition, but it is probably a misprint for "they brought great birds' eggs."

and, later, Kophene. The only possible Parthian monarchs with whom the Chinese could have had to do, even retrospectively, between 120 B.C. and 88 B.C. were Arsac VIII. (127-124) and Arsac IX. (124-88). There seems to be no record of the names of any of the earliest Indo-Scythian Kings either in Chinese or Western documents, but it is well known from Western sources that before Mithridates the Great (Arsac IX.) came to the throne, the Seleucidæ had totally abandoned their extreme eastern provinces, which were soon politically absorbed by the Parthians and by the Indo-Scythians.

As to the habits being settled, the Parthian State itself was a comparatively small tract to the south-east of the Caspian, and the Parthians are known to have preferred tent life; but the various Persian States, as overrun and enumerated by Alexander, were, under Parthian rule, mere serfs attached to the soil, at the capricious behests of their armoured, mounted, and semi-nomadic masters, who had, however, a slight veneer of Persian polish, mixed with Greek cultivation. Ta-yüan was farther east than Alexander ever got, and included most of the country lying between Sogdiana and the Pamirs, including modern Tashkend and Kokand. The "numerous walled towns" are easily accounted for on any good map of ancient Persia, at least in principle, if not so easily one by one. The Kwei Water, afterwards called by other names, is the Oxus; it was so called by the Chinese (as many other places in the West) after a river of that name near an ancient Chinese capital. The Chinese had their Jonesvilles and Smithtowns, just as had the *Mayflower* emigrants. The evidence of Parthian coins, with their inscriptions in Greek and in Aramæan, is one of the few living evidences we still possess touching the manners of a people whose active history is almost a complete blank; upon this point M. E. Drouin has published some very interesting papers in the *Revue Numismatique* and in other brochures. The marks on leather or "hard skin" evidently refer to the

parchment used, according to Herodotus, much earlier by the Ionian Greeks, who were from the beginning always in touch with Cilicia and the Euphrates; the very name is traced, through the later Roman word *pergamena*, to Pergamus in Asia Minor; and, of course, as all Westerns, the Parthians wrote horizontally, whether they used Greek or Aramæan. T'iao-chi (Babylonia), An-ts'ai (the Alan country or Caspian shores), Li-Kien (Hyrkania), K'ang-kü (Maracanda region), Ta-hia (Bactria), Shên-tuh (Indus States), and Yü-t'ien (Khoten), need only be mentioned here by name; their Chinese disguises will be explained in due course when I come to treat of those countries one by one. But it is impossible for me to mention the three first without allusion to my old friend Dr. F. Hirth's admirable work on "China and the Roman Orient." Owing to certain misprints, however, he has not, I think, quite correctly apprehended the passage about the Chinese envoy's route. The "great birds" are ostriches, evidently from the Arabian desert, later on frequently mentioned as "horse birds" or "camel birds." Dr. Hirth says "ostrich eggs of Rekem," and identifies Li-Kien with that Petra, or Rekem, which lay at the head of the Red Sea; but it was the conjurers, not the eggs, that came from Hyrcan (or wherever Li-Kien may have been); nor is it possible to accept the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai as a suitable site for a place distinctly stated to be north of Parthia. About 237 B.C. Arsac II. had taken Hyrcania from Seleucus II., and some twenty years later Arsac III. was confirmed in its possession by Antiochus the Great. Dr. Hirth's supposed word "north" is a word meaning "and when." As to jugglers, it is related of Alexander when at the Susa festival in 324 B.C. that jugglers or wonder-workers, the best of whom came from Lesbos, ten miles from the coast of Asia Minor, were provided by him for his guests on a wholesale scale. Wu-sun means the region of Kuldja and Issyk-kul, and the "propinquity of the Hiung-nu" along the line of the Upper Jaxartes and Lower Oxus (a branch at

least of which latter river has, I understand, been ascertained by recent explorers to have once run into the Caspian) is only too well corroborated by the Scythian defeat of Cyrus in 529 B.C., almost exactly on the spot where Alexander was heartily glad to patch up an agreement with the same people in 329 B.C. Touching what concerns the various States and the dialects of that region, I believe Sir H. Rawlinson is an original authority for the statement quoted by other writers that "the tie of a common language, customs, and, to a great extent, belief, united the Persians, Medes, Sagartians, Chorasmiens, Bactrians, Sogdians, Hyrcanians, Sarangians, Gandarians, and Sanskritic Indians."

In a word, so far as the earliest vague and superficial Chinese testimony goes, it is supported in nearly every particular by Western writers. The fable about Weak Waters and Western Mothers is not taken more seriously by the Chinese than our yarns about Prester John; and may be dismissed.

The next history, that of the Early Han dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 25), treats of the same period as that just discussed, except that it carries on the subject as far as the year A.D. 5, when the dynasty (apart from usurpers) came to an end, and also includes the period of Wang Mang's usurpation.

As in the first case, I number the paragraph, and cite the allusions to Parthia, separately from all comment, in the order in which they occur:

2. "The host of people [in T'iao-ch'ī] is very great; here and there are numbers of petty princelets. An-sih holds them in vassalage as foreign States. . . . The King of An-sih State rules at P'an-tou city, distant from Ch'ang-an 11,600 *li*, and is not under our proconsul. North [the country] joins on K'ang-kū, east on Wu-yih-shan-li, west on T'iao-ch'ī. The land, character, objects, and popular manners in general, are as in Wu-yih and Ki-pin. They, too, use silver for coins; the obverse alone is the King's face, and the reverse his wife's face.

Whenever the King dies, fresh coins are cast. There are great horse birds. There are several hundred cities, small and great, subordinate to it; the land is several thousand *li* in extent, and it is a very great country. It is on [or reaches to] the Kwei Water. Traders go by cart and boat to the adjoining states. They write on leather, sideways, for literary records. When Wu Ti (141-87 B.C.) first sent envoys to An-sih, the King ordered a captain at the head of 20,000 horsemen to meet them on the east frontier. The east frontier is several thousand *li* of travel from the royal capital. By the time they [the envoys] had arrived there, they had passed several tens of cities with a continuous population. They [Parthia] took the opportunity to send missions, in the wake of the Han envoys, to come and inspect the Han land. They made offerings to Han of great birds' eggs and Li-kien conjurers. The Son of Heaven was overjoyed. East of An-sih is Ta-yüeh-chi. . . . The land [Ta-yüan], character, objects, and popular manners are similar to Ta-yüeh-chi and An-sih. . . . From Yüan westwards to An-sih the States, though varying considerably in dialect, are still much the same, and can make themselves understood to each other. The people are all deep-eyed, and mostly bearded and whiskered; good traders, chaffering over the smallest coin. . . . From Wu-sun westwards to An-sih is near the Hiung-nu. The Hiung-nu used to press on the Yüeh-chi. . . . [The A.D. 23 enumeration mentioned below] excludes such extremely distant states as K'ang-kü, Ta-yüeh-chi, An-sih, Ki-pin, and Wu-yih, which, when they came to offer tribute, received acknowledgment, but were not under our supreme control."

Comments on 2.—It will be noticed that the later work, which from the concluding paragraph manifestly includes all that took place during the period of anarchy (A.D. 5-25) between the early and the later Han dynasties, takes cognizance of the westward extensions of Arsac VI. in Babylonia (135 or 134 B.C.), and also of Mithridates the Great.

of Parthia (Arsac IX.), who in 96 B.C. obtained cessions of territory even in Armenia. Meanwhile Mithridates the Great of Pontus had been at war with the Romans, who asserted against Persia a rival influence in Armenia. As a consequence, the Roman province of Syria was now only separated from the Parthian province of Mesopotamia by the Euphrates. Later on the Parthians defeated and slew Crassus, conquered Syria, and even swept over Asia Minor, only being definitely driven out of Syria in 38 B.C. On the other hand, in 36 B.C. Mark Antony was in turn ejected from Parthian territory. P'an-tou has rightly been identified by Dr. Hirth either with Parthaunisa city, or with the old Persian word *Parthuwa*. As Nisha-pur (*pur* meaning "city") is stated by some authors to be the same place, I presume "Nisa of the Parthau" is meant. I find the same Chinese character *p'an* used for the first syllable of the word *Barkul*, the principle governing the final *r*, which does not exist in Chinese, being the same as in the case of *Arsac*. The word *Wu-yih-shan-li* is unsatisfactory, for several reasons. First, it is often split up, as though *Wu-yih* were a different place from *Shan-li*; and, secondly, there are contradictory statements as to its position. As, apart from the uncertain position, the immediate question of Persia is not directly concerned, I will at some future date revert to this word under another head, simply noticing here that the casual suggestion (I believe Dr. Hirth's) of one of the *O-ik-san-dri* (Alexandria) districts is not an unlikely one. The rest of the second Chinese account is substantially a mere repetition of the first. It will be noticed that there is no suggestion of any further Chinese intercourse with Parthia between the two extremes of 120 B.C. and A.D. 20. No clash of interests between China and Parthia ever took place at any date.

The next historical authority is that of the Later Han history, covering the two centuries subsequent to the commencement of the Christian era (A.D. 25-220), as the earlier history covered the two centuries anterior. After explain-

ing how, since the pacifications and conquests of the celebrated general Pan Ch'ao, the fifty states enumerated, as above stated, in A.D. 23 had once more sent hostages to China (A.D. 97), it goes on to allude specifically to An-sih in the following passages :

3. "As for the T'iao-chi and An-sih class of states, right up to the sea-coast 40,000 *li* away, they all sent relays of interpreters and offered tribute. In the ninth year (A.D. 97) Pan Ch'ao sent his lieutenant, Kan Ying, to go to the extreme end, on the West Sea, whence he returned. . . . The great bird eggs [of T'iao-chi] are like jars. Turning north, and then east, you again travel by horse over sixty days, and reach An-sih, which, later on, made a vassal of T'iao-chi, and established for it great captains to watch and conduct the various smaller cities. The residence of An-sih State is at Ho-tuh city, 25,000 *li* to Loh-yang [Ho-nan Fu of to-day]. North it joins on K'ang-kü, south on Wu-yih-shan-li. The land is several thousand *li* in extent, with several hundred smaller cities. It is very strong indeed in population, and in effective soldiers. On its east frontier is Muh-luh city, styled 'Lesser An-sih,' 20,000 *li* to Loh-yang. In the first year of the Emperor Chang's period Chang-ho (A.D. 87) they sent envoys to offer lions and *fu-pah*. The *fu-pah* in form is like a [fabulous] *lin*, but without horn. In the ninth year of the Emperor Ho's period Yung-yüan (A.D. 97), the proconsul Pan Ch'ao sent Kan Ying on a mission to Ta-ts'in. Reaching T'iao-chi, on the Great Sea, he desired to cross; but the shipping men at the western frontier of An-sih, addressing Kan Ying, said: 'The sea water is broad and great; to and fro' with a good wind you can only get across in three months. If you meet with a slack wind, you may be two years; hence people entering into the sea all carry three years' provision. When in the sea, it is apt to cause one to think of home, and often people have perished with this yearning.' So Ying* stopped when he heard this. In the

* In histories Chinese, already once fully named, are designated by their "Christian" names so long as the same subject is discussed.

thirteenth year the An-sih (A.D. 101) King Man-k'üeh again offered lions and T'iao-chi big birds. At that time they were called An-sih birds. From An-sih, going west 3,400 *li*, you come to A-man State. From A-man, going west 3,600 *li*, you come to Sz-pin State. From Sz-pin State, south across the river, and then south-west, you come to Yü-lo State, 960 *li*, this being the extreme western limit of An-sih. From the south, by sea conveyance, you communicate with Ta-ts'in. . . . They [of Ta-ts'in] trade with An-sih and T'ien-chuh in the middle of the sea, making tenfold profits. . . . The [Ta-ts'in] King always wanted to open up missions with Han, but An-sih wished to do trade with them in Han silk goods, so that he was obstructed, and could not get at us until the ninth year of the Emperor Hwan's period Yen-hi (A.D. 166), when An-tun, King of Ta-ts'in, sent an envoy *via* the parts beyond Jih-nan, with offerings of ivory, rhinoceros-horn, and tortoise-shell. Communications were thus first opened. . . . The Han envoys of previous times all returned from Wu-yih, none having reached T'iao-chi. It is also said that from An-sih by land, round by the sea *via* Hai-si, to Ta-ts'in there is a continuous population, with post-stations of the smaller kind every 10 *li*, and of the larger kind every 30 *li*. There are never any robbers or raiding alarums, yet on the road there are many fierce tigers and lions, which intercept and slay wayfarers. Unless there be over a hundred people together, carrying arms, such are apt to be devoured."

Comments upon 3.—The vague mention of the sea-coast 40,000 *li* away suggests Syria, the invasion of which was, in fact, contemplated by Arsac VI., and achieved for a time by Arsac XIV. (40 B.C.). Dr. Hirth has shown clearly that Kan Ying seems to have got as far as Babylon, which in 97 B.C. must have been the western limit of Parthia. In 323 B.C. Nearchus had sailed with Alexander's fleet straight up to that city. It is not easy to guess what sound Ho-tuh is intended to represent, nor do Dr. Hirth's

speculations assist us much here. By the analogy of other words the syllables Va-dug are the most likely. It would require a great stretch of "scientific license" to get a second "Parthua" out of this. The Parthians, after their western conquests, moved from Parthau-nisa (said to be the later Nisha-pur) to the Seleucid city of Ktesiphon. The last Alexandria founded by Alexander just before his death is supposed to have been practically identical with the later Hira city, where the Arabs still later on founded Cufa. Muh-luh, a name which continues through eight centuries of Chinese history, is Merv, the headquarters in the seventh century of the Chinese Muh-luh *chou*. This discovery has also been in part anticipated by Dr. Hirth. The name reappears in various Chinese forms almost to our own times. It must, however, be pointed out that *Bug-lug*, or *Muk-ruk*, and not *Muru*, which is in fact the old name for Merv, are the historically etymological sounds we should have *expected*. The evidence of homophones alone is unsatisfactory. As to the tribute of lions and other unidentified strange beasts, a second passage in the same history attributes this particular mission to the Ta-yüeh-chi. The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that these Indo-Scythians had now, as the Chinese elsewhere state, already conquered part of the Parthian dominions. The Chinese do not give the exact date of such conquest, but Kao-fu (Cabul) at least formed a part of that conquest, as I have explained in my paper on the Ephthalite Turks.*

It is a curious coincidence that "Admiral" Hiero, who had been sent by Alexander in 323 B.C. to circumnavigate Arabia and make for Egypt, lost courage in the same way that Kan Ying did. His heart failed him when he emerged from the Persian Gulf, though the Greek Scylax had already discovered this passage for Darius. In the year A.D. 101, the twenty-fourth Arsac then ruling was personally named Pacorus, and Dr. Hirth has accordingly endeavoured to identify the sound Man-K'üh, or, as ety-

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1902, p. 139.

mology suggests, Ban-kur, with Pacor. As Pacorus was just then in the throes of a bloody war with the Roman Emperor Trajan, it seems reasonable to suppose that he might have attempted to conciliate General Pan Ch'ao, who had had several successful battles with the Indo-Scyths in connection with Kashgar and Pamir affairs, and who only applied for leave to retire in A.D. 100, and retired in 102. A-man may well be (and I should like it to be) Armenia, from the possession of which Trajan was driven by Arsac XXV. Dr. Hirth strains very hard to obtain the sound Acbatana out of these same two syllables, in order to justify his further identification of Sz-pin with Ktesiphon. By the analogy of Ki-pin, which is securely known to stand for Kophen, or Kophené, we ought, however, to look for some such sound as Sápphen. How about Kte? On many excellent grounds his identification of Yü-lo with Hira, below Babylon, seems unexceptionable; but here, again, it must be remarked that the same syllable *yü* has, and at the same date, to do duty for the first syllable in what we now call Khoten, so that a "compromise" sound approaching Khöra, or Hullah, is desirable. Much depends upon the date when the state of Hira and the later Arab Hillah were first so called, and what the exact Arabic and Zend or Pehlvi names were. The evident Roman trade in silk, and that with T'ien-chuh, or India, needs no justification. Of course, the sounds An-tun are invitingly similar to Marcus Aurelius *Anton*(inus), who reigned at the time. Many persons have long ago suggested this; but if his name had been "Arthur," the "proofs" would have been sounder still. "The parts beyond Jih-nan (Kwang Si)" may mean any portion of Indo-China; however, other exact indications tend to show positively that the modern Rangoon, the Irrawaddy, Bhamo, and Momein route was the one followed. It is extremely unlikely that any Roman Emperor knew what was being done by these venturesome Ambassadors. Probably some speculative shippers of doubtful Roman citizenship occasionally found their way

to Cochin China, where we know there were many Hindoo colonies, and the conquest of the north part of this peninsula, including steady tribute of live rhinoceroses, had been in progress ever since A.D. 42. These keen traders naturally took advantage of the opportunity to "trade off" some of their superfluous local stock upon China, in the hope of receiving the usual "gracious rewards" for their dutiful "tribute," which was plainly not of Roman provenance, but in reality "Straits" produce. As to Ta-ts'in, as I shall endeavour to show when I treat of that Empire, the Chinese never conceived more than one great power beyond the Caspian and Persia. Alexandrian, Seleucid, Roman, or Greek, it was always to their minds one and the same, and the distinction of petty nationalities, which seems to us Westerners so important, was as far beyond the scope of the Chinese ken as it was hopeless for the Far West to attempt to follow, or even to guess at, the mysterious revolutions, conquests, and dynastic changes which took place in the sphere of the Thinae or Seres. Besides, as a matter of fact, Rome was the heir of Alexander, and Byzantium was the heir of Rome. It is simply a question of "Early Han" and "Later Han." Hai-si, or "West of the Sea," seems to refer to the region between the Caspian and the Black Sea. It is sometimes used to mean specifically "Ta-ts'in." The Chinese, ignorant of Arabia, and approaching Europe from the east, naturally regarded the whole of Asia Minor, as described to them by hearsay, as a peninsula jutting out westwards in the great sea, and that great sea included in their minds the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, so far as they could guess at the topography of those parts. They had no more idea what the shape of the sea was than we had until very recently what the shape of the Greenland seas was, or have now of the Polar land and sea divisions. The Greeks themselves called by the name of Erythræan, or "Red" Sea, the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean south of Arabia, the Mare Rubrum of Pliny.

We next come to the two histories of the Chinese Wei dynasty (220-265), one of which is unfortunately lost, but is luckily quoted by the other, apparently *in extenso* so far as the West is concerned :

4. "From this [the Pamirs] westwards are Ta-yüan, An-sih, T'iao-ch'ï, and Wu-yih. Wu-yih is also called P'ai-ch'ï, or [as one copy says] P'ai-t'êh. These four states in this order lie west, being the original states, without increase or diminution. . . . Former generations absurdly held that it [T'iao-ch'ï] was more powerful than An-sih ; but now, so far from being so, it is vassal to the latter, and is styled the western limit of An-sih. . . . From An-kuh city on An-sih's frontier, by boat, you go right across to Hai-si ; if you meet with favourable winds you arrive in two months ; if a slack wind, perhaps a year ; if no wind, perhaps three years. This country [Ta-ts'in] is at the west of the sea ; hence it is popularly styled Hai-si. . . . They [Ta-ts'in] often wanted to get envoys through to China, but owing to An-sih scheming for the profits they could not get past. . . . From An-sih round by Hai-pêh you reach the country [Ta-ts'in]. . . . The Tsêh-san King is under Ta-ts'in ; his rule is inside the seas . . . he is nearest to An-sih's An-kuh city. . . . Sz-lo State belongs to An-sih, and joins on to Ta-ts'in."

Comments on 4.—The alternative name [of Baidji or Baidh?] for Wu-yih would be far more interesting if we were certain of the correct reading ; several Persian words, either that (*baiza*) for "tribute state," or names of places, might fit in. Dr. Hirth's learned speculations as to where An-kuh city and Tsêh-san were leave us exactly where we originally found ourselves—in complete ignorance ; or, at best, doubt. His suggestion that Sz-lo may stand for "Seleucia" requires an unexacting imagination, for *Sira*, *Săra* are the only "proper" sounds. The term Hai-pêh, or "North of the Sea," may equally well mean "north by the sea region." The total extra evidence for the period 220 to 265 is, however, now before the public, who can judge

and speculate for themselves. Chinese relations with the West are henceforward completely broken off during the dynastic struggles of two centuries, and there is not the faintest trace to be found in the Chinese records of any knowledge of the destruction by Artaxerxes, first of the Sassanide house, of the decaying Arsacide dynasty. Simultaneously with descriptions of an entirely new state, called Po-sz or Persia, we are plainly and repeatedly informed that a group of petty states in the Lower Oxus region occupied territory which once was part of An-sih. Indeed, one of them seems to have borne the name of An-sih far into the sixth century, and all of them appear to have become Ephthalite in manners and sympathy. As the history of these Oxus states manifestly belongs to that of the Samarcand region rather than to that of the "New Persia" founded by Artaxerxes in 226, I shall not enter further into the matter at present, but proceed straight to the question of Persia.

The Tsin Dynasty, which reunified China in A.D. 265, had to contend in the north with a succession of Tartar and Tibetan rivals; in 317 it was obliged to leave Loh-yang and cross the Yangtsze River altogether, to establish itself at modern Nanking. Meanwhile a vigorous Tunguso-Mongolic Dynasty (not yet "placed"), known as the "Toba Wei" (*i.e.*, the Wei Dynasty bearing the Tartar surname of Toba), had gradually disposed of all the other non-Chinese claimants, and had established itself in the northern provinces (386-534). In course of time the Tsin Dynasty in the south fell a prey to the ambitions of soldiers, and gave way to a succession of four ephemeral military adventurer dynasties reigning at Nanking (420-589); and in the same way the once masculine Tobas grew effeminate under the combined effects of Buddhism and "politeness," only to make way for Tartar military adventurers in Toba employ, masking their ambitions first under the puppet styles of Eastern and Western Wei (535-555), and at last emerging boldly as the usurping Northern Ts'i and Northern Chou Dynasties (550-581). These rivals got the Turks and the

“Geougen”* to take sides, and the result was that Chou and the Turks got the better of Ts’i and the “Geougen or Avars” (*not* Avars in the least degree); until at last the Sui Dynasty between 581 and 589 succeeded in once more consolidating all China into one realm, a work finally perfected by the great T’ang Dynasty in 618, when active military intercourse with the West once more began in earnest. During all this long period (A.D. 200-600), Chinese military influence beyond the present western bounds of the empire was *nil*, and even beyond the limits of the Eighteen Provinces (not counting Kan Suh, Kashgaria, or Manchuria) as they now stand it was very slight. Turkestan, Tibet, and Mongolia, all worked out their own salvation. The southern dynasties had received in one or two cases a few missions of courtesy or intrigue; but the real commercial and diplomatic influence, such as it was, lay entirely in the hands of the Tartar rulers of North China. Up to the middle of the fifth century the Toba Emperors declined all advances from the West, on the ground that a “go-ahead policy” had done more harm than good to China in the past; but at last the then reigning monarch gave way so far as to send an envoy named Han Yang-p’i to Po-sz or Persia, now mentioned under that name for the first time. It was not explained why this was done, but it appears that in 425-430 the Tobas had endeavoured to get envoys through to Kashgar, and that the “Geougen” nomads had blocked the way. As the “Geougen” had relations with the Ephthalites, and the Ephthalites were at war with Persia, it is very likely that Persia made the first advances to China (*i.e.*, North China). The Persian monarch, who is not named, despatched a return mission with tame elephants and valuable objects by way of Khoten. Owing to the Khoten people having detained this mission, Han Yang-p’i was sent by the Tobas once more to Khoten in order to rescue it by persuasive means; and, as a result of this action, ten missions from Persia to

* See my paper on the supposed Avars, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1902.

North China are recorded between the years 455 and 513. Most of the other states between the Caspian and the Indus also sent missions.

I now proceed to give the whole original evidence for the Toba period (400-550) word for word, it being carefully remembered that here, as elsewhere in this paper, opinions are kept rigidly apart from facts :

5. "Po-sz State has its capital at Suh-li city, west of Niu-mih ; it is the ancient T'iao-chi State. To Tai [the earlier capital in North Shan Si province] it is 24,228 *li*. The city is 10 *li* square, with over 100,000 households. The land is fairly level, and produces gold, silver, coral, amber, very fine pearls, vitreous ware, and glass ; crystals, diamonds, iron, copper, spelter, cinnabar, mercury ; damask, embroidery, cotton, carpeting and tapestry, flesh-coloured deerskins ; turmeric, storax, and other scents ; pepper, stone honey, dates, salt, green orpiment, etc. [I omit mention of other important ores, scents, fruits, and miscellaneous objects which cannot be precisely identified.] The climate is very hot, and families keep ice in their houses. The land is stony sand for the great part, and for irrigation purposes water has to be conducted. Their five cereals, birds, beasts, etc., are pretty much as in China, except that they lack two [specific] kinds of rice and millet. The land produces famous horses, large asses, and camels ; often some [of which ?] travelling 700 *li* in a day, rich families possessing as many as several thousand head. Then they produce white elephants, lions, and great bird eggs : there is a bird shaped like a camel, having two wings, which enable it to fly along, but not to rise. It eats grass and flesh, and can also swallow fire. Their King bears the family name of *Po*, with personal name *Sz*. He sits on a gold sheep ["lion" elsewhere] throne, and wears a gold-flower crown ; he is clad in a gown of woven embroidery. His hood [an obscure word] is ornamented with genuine pearls and precious things. The custom is for males to cut the hair and wear a white skin hat ; also a

shift with the head thrust through, but slit at the two sides near the bottom of it ; they also have a cap-hood [obscure] woven with a binding. The women wear a large shift, and throw on a great hood [obscure]. Their hair in front is made into a chignon ; but behind it is left free, and ornamented with gold and silver flowers, having strung on at the same time pearls in five colours, and it is then dropped ["netted" elsewhere] at the back. The King has within his dominions ten other small *ya*, like the Chinese *li-kung*. Every year in the fourth moon he goes on a tour to live in them, returning in the tenth month. After the King has mounted the throne, he chooses the most virtuous of his sons, writes his name, and seals it up in the treasury ; none of the sons or the great Ministers are aware of the contents. When the King dies, the document is opened and read in the presence of all, on which he whose name is found inside the envelope is at once set up as King, whilst the other sons go away, each one to some frontier post, and the brothers do not see each other again.

"The natives style the King *i-tsan*, and the Queen *fang-pu-shuh* ; the King's sons *shah-ye*. Of high officials there are the *moh-u-t'an*, who manages the litigious business of the State ; the *ni-hwuh-han*, who conducts the treasury and opens prohibited land [obscure] ; the *tsao* [elsewhere *pei-puh*], who manages correspondence and popular business. Next comes the *hoh-lo-ho-ti*, who looks after the King's interior business ; the *sieh-po-puh* [elsewhere *sah-po-puh*], who controls the armies of the four quarters. Below all these are the subordinate officials, each in charge of his share of the affairs. Arms used include cuirass, spear, round shield, swords, crossbows, bows and arrows. They fight whilst riding elephants, 100 men attached on foot to each one of them.

"In their graver punishments they suspend the offender to a pole, and shoot him to death ; the next in degree are confined in prison, but when a new King succeeds they are set free. For the lighter offences they cut off the nose or

the feet, or they shave the head, or cut off the hair from the temples, and tie a tablet to the neck to indicate the disgrace. Those who are guilty of violent robbery are imprisoned for life. Those who commit adultery with the wives of superior persons are exiled, and the wife has her ears [and
or] nose cut off.

"The taxes are apportioned according to land, and silver coins paid accordingly. The practice is to worship the fire spirit and the spirit of heaven. The written character is different from the Hu script. Many of them take their sisters as wives or concubines, and, for the rest, in their marriage unions they make no choice of high or low degree, being in this respect the most revolting of all the barbarians. Girls of the people, if over ten years of age and of any beauty, are taken into keep by the King, and distributed as presents amongst persons who have rendered distinguished service.

"The bodies of most dead persons are left out on the hills, and mourning is worn for one month. Outside the city there are people who live apart, and only concern themselves with deaths and burials; they are styled 'unclean men.' If they enter the city bazaars they shake bells in order to distinguish themselves.

"The sixth moon is made the beginning of the year, and special stress is laid upon the seventh day of the seventh moon, and the first day of the twelfth moon. On those days, from the common people upwards, all bid each other to come and assist at the festival, where there is music and great merriment. Besides this, on the twentieth day of the first moon in each year everyone sacrifices to those of his forbears who may have died.

"During the period Shên-kwei (518-520) their state sent envoys to bring up a letter accompanying articles of tribute, and running: 'The Great Country's Son of Heaven is born of Heaven. We hope that the place where the sun comes out will always be of the Son of Heaven in Han [land]. The Po-sz State King Kû-hwo-to makes 1,000

and 10,000 respectful obeisances.' The Court accepted this approvingly, and from this onwards they often sent to make offerings at Court. In the second year (555) of the [puppet] Emperor Kung, their King again sent envoys to offer local articles. In the time of the Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty (604-617), a military officer named Li Yüh was sent on a mission to open up communications with Persia. Soon after a mission came along with Yüh to bring tribute of local articles."

Comments on 5.—The above all comes from the History of the Tobas, and from the Northern History, which latter carries us up to the unification of all the Tartars with China by the Sui Dynasty in 581. It appears, however, that the restored former work, having been partly suppressed and destroyed, some time later borrowed all this particular chapter from the latter work. The separate history book, which deals especially with the above-mentioned Chou Dynasty (556-581), adds nothing new to the above account except as follows: The State of Persia is described as "another kind" of Yüeh-chi—*i.e.*, Ephthalites—and the King, who sits on a sheep (not a lion) throne, "bears the family name of *Po-sz*." The capital is called Su-li (not Suh-li), and tribute was sent to the puppet King of Western Wei in 553 (not 555). As first the Western Wei, and, secondly, the Chou capital, was continuously at Ch'ang-an (modern Si-an Fu); the distance, 15,300 *li*, is estimated to that centre (and not to North Shan Si). But even this Chou History was, in parts, supplemented by the Northern History, which thus (subject to the usefulness of the other two to correct omissions, misprints, etc.), becomes practically our sole authority for the two centuries—400 to 600.

The History of the Southern Liang Dynasty (502-557) and also the Southern History (composed by the same author as the Northern History), treating not only of the Liang house, but also of the remaining three southern dynasties (420-502, 557-589), contain identical language about Persia. Thus we have a Northern History corroboration.

rating and correcting the three special northern sub-histories, and the Southern History doing the same for the four special southern sub-histories; and both by one man. The southern accounts run :

6. "A certain Po-sz-nih King was forbear of the Po-sz State; his sons and grandson adopted his appellation as a family name, which thus became the style of the country itself. This state has a city thirty-two *li* in circumference. The walls are forty feet high, and all have watch-towers. Inside there are several hundred [to a] thousand buildings. Outside the city there are two or three hundred Buddhist monasteries. Fifteen *li* west from the city there are earthen mounds; these hills are not over high, but their trend is continuous for a great distance. In them are vultures which feed on sheep, and are held in exceeding dread by the people of the country. In this country there is a *Yu-poh-t'an* flower, beautifully fresh and blooming. Dragon-colt horses are produced. A salt pool yields coral trees one or two feet in length. There are also amber, cornelian, pearls, garnets, etc., which in this country are scarcely counted as valuable. For market purchases gold and silver are used. In the marriage system, when troth gifts are deposited, the son-in-law takes several tens of men to fetch the woman. The swain wears gold-thread embroidered robe, trousers embroidered with lions, and on his head a celestial crown. The woman likewise. The woman's brothers then come, grasp hands, and deliver over. On this the husband and wife rites are finished for ever. The east part of the state joins on Hwah State; the west and south of the state both join on P'o-lo-mên State; the north on Fan-yang State. In the second year of the Liang Dynasty's period Chung-ta-t'ung (530), they sent envoys to offer a Buddha's tooth [alternative reading, "They first had communication with Kiang-yu" = South Chinese court]."

Finally comes the account of the Sui History (581-618), under which great north-western expansion took place :

7. "Po-sz State has its capital at Su-lin city, west of the

Tah-hoh water, being the ancient T'iao-ch'ih land. The King's name is K'u-sah-hwo. His capital city is square over ten *li*. Of capable soldiers over 20,000 men. Elephants are ridden to battle. The country has no death punishments; they either cut off the hand, amputate the feet, confiscate the family wealth, shave away the beard, or bind a ticket to the neck as a distinctive mark. Males over the age of three pay a poll-tax of four coins. They marry sisters. The corpses of persons who die are abandoned on the mountains, and mourning is maintained for one month. The King wears a gold-flowered hat, and sits on a gold lion throne. He smears gold-dust on his beard as ornamentation. He wears an embroidered gown, with trinkets superadded over it. The land has many excellent horses, large asses, lions, white elephants, great bird eggs, pearls, glass, amber, coral, vitreous ware, cornelians, crystals, diamonds, gold, silver, copper, pewter, embroidered cotton, fine cloth, rugs and tapestry, flesh-coloured antelope skins, cinnabar, mercury, turmeric, storax, pepper, stone-honey, half-honey, green orpiment [and other metals, scents, etc., not identified]. The Turks, unable to reach their country, yet keep a loose hold over it. Po-sz often sent envoys to offer tribute. West to the sea several hundred *li*. East to Kwa Chou 11,700 *li*. The Emperor Yang (604-617) sent the military officer Li Yüeh on a mission to communicate with Persia, and soon after Persia sent envoys along with Yüeh to tribute local articles."

Comments on 6 and 7.—Readers have now before them the totality of Chinese official observations touching Persia up to A.D. 600. As to the Arab conquest, the appeal of Piruz, son of Yezdegird III. (last monarch of the defunct Sassanide Dynasty), to the Chinese Emperor, and the interesting question of Nestorian, Catholic, Mazdean, and Mazdekan rivalry, I must reserve all this for another paper, and will now proceed to show how Western authors support the Chinese accounts of "New Persia" in most particulars.

The capital, here called Suh-li, Su-li, Su-lin, during the

later period of the Piruz troubles appears as Suli-sztana or Sula - sztanga—the Surasthâna of Eitel's Buddhist Dictionary. I suppose this was an Indian name for Ktesiphon. Niu-mih was practically the neighbourhood of Bokhara, as I shall show in the coming account of Samarcand. The "very fine pearls" recall those of the second Chosroes' crown, each the size of an egg. The same monarch possessed many thousand horses, asses, and camels—8,000 for his personal riding. Gibbon, Tabari,* and other authors vary as to the more exact numbers. Masudi says he owned 1,100 elephants "as white as snow." No Western author seems to mention the ostrich eggs which from ancient times had so powerfully impressed the Chinese mind. The "family name" of *Fars*, or *Pars*, is only too obvious, and the confusion with the Buddhist word *Prasênadjit*, made by the subjects of the fanatically Buddhist Liang Emperor, possesses no real significance. The *takdis*, or golden throne, is mentioned by Tabari, whether it be that sheep or lions were represented. Both animals are mentioned—and even camels—on the Samarcand group of thrones. As to the King's robes, the exact words of the modern summary are: "The Great King wore beautifully embroidered robes, covered with hundreds of gems and pearls." The same summary (Clare) says: "The new Persian Kings maintained many palaces, visiting them at their pleasure, and residing there for a time." *Ya* is the origin of the modern Chinese word *yamên*, and first of all meant the standard or headquarters of a prince on the move; like *li-kung*, it has since come to mean "hunting-box," or "in villeggiatura"; and, finally, *ya-mên*, or standard-gate, means a *prætorium*. The Persian way of designating successors was precisely adopted by several of the earlier Manchu Emperors of China, and the appointment of inconvenient relatives to frontier posts is still a peculiarly Persian custom. The usurper Bahram offered Chosroës II. "the

* I take my Western authors from the not very literary but very useful American summary published by Israel Smith Clare.

government of a province" if he would quietly resign his claims to the throne.

It is for Persian scholars to make what they can out of the Chinese transliterated titles. The *moh-hu* are often elsewhere mentioned as *Mu-hu* or *mu-hu-pah*, a word long since recognised by French Orientalists as meaning "magi" or "*Moubeds*." Hence we are clearly justified in assuming that the *moh-hu-t'an* was the "*Movpetan* [*Movpet*]," or "Head of the Chief Magi," who had a large share in the general control. The *sieh-po-puh* is clearly the *Sipehbed*, or "Commander-in-Chief," the word *puh* still possessing a final *t* in several dialects of South China. In the same way *pei-puh* must be the "*Dprapet* [*Ariats*]," or "Chief of the Scribes of Iran," and the *hoh-lo-ho-ti* may perhaps be the "*Khohrdean* [*dpir*]," or "Secretary of the Council."

"The King's shield was round," and "the elephant corps occupied the first position": these two Western statements tend to confirm the scrupulous exactness of the Chinese accounts. I pass over various Chinese statements for which I find no Western parallels, but specialists in Arabic or Zend may discover many new things. The Greek author Theophylactus says that Chosroës II. "cut off the nose and ears" of one at least of his captives, and Herodotus mentions this and the shaving punishment by ancient Persians. It was Chosroës I. who "introduced a new arrangement of the taxation. Hitherto all lands had paid . . . according to the richness of the soil. . . . He substituted a land-tax . . . partly of a money payment and partly in kind." The question of "fire spirits" and "spirits of heaven" is reserved until we discuss Mazdeanism and the Christianity found by the Chinese to exist in the Perso-Bactrian region long before the Nestorians ever appeared in China. The vague expression "Hu" script probably refers to Pali and Sanskrit. Chosroës II., the most uxorious of the dynasty, is said to have had 12,000 concubines, besides 12,000 girls of the servile class to wait upon them; so that the "revolting"

(literally "ugly and dirty") aspect of things so apparent to the Chinese judgment is amply accounted for. Not only did the Persians expose dead bodies on the hills for vultures to devour, but the Parsees still do so, as I have myself seen, upon the "Towers of Silence" at Bombay; in fact, during the religious persecutions of Kobad I., even Christians were forbidden by him to bury their dead. The "unclean men" are manifestly the *pahâriyâ*, or "mountain men;" or some Persian form of the pariah class; no doubt akin to the mummifiers of Egypt, so graphically described by Herodotus.

The King who was reigning in 518-520 was Kobad, or Kavât, as he is styled on his coins. The Chinese writers must be assumed, on historical and etymological grounds combined, to have intended the sound *ku-vha-t*. Just then Kobad was in the agonies of his Ephthalite wars, and he also (518) made advances to Justin I. of Constantinople. The unnamed King who sent envoys to Ch'ang-an in 553 or 555 was Chosroës I., then engaged in war with the Romans about Mingrelia. The Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty was particularly anxious to open up communications with Fuh-lin as well as with Persia. The word Fuh-lin (Fereng, as I believe) now occurs for the first time in Chinese history, and the same syllable *fuh* is used by them for the Arabic syllable Djaffar (*ch'a-fuh*). It would be interesting to know if the Persians used the word "Fereng" or "Afrangh" so early as this; or whether it reached China through the Avars and Turks, who were taking sides with or against the Romans and Persians, and who brought fancy Fereng dogs to modern Turfan in A.D. 618.

It is to be suspected that the account given in the Liang History must be a purely hearsay narrative having reference to some city of the Ephthalites, with which people Kobad I. had been long at war, but with whom Chosroës I. (531-579) had kept the peace during the only possible twenty years when South China could have received missions. The mere mention of Buddha's tooth and the Yu-poh-t'an (an

evident mistake for *Yu-t'an-poh* or *udumbara*) tree almost proves this. Moreover, the supposed Persia bordered on P'o-lo-mên ("Brahman," or the Indus region) and Fan-yang (Bamian), which settles the question in favour of the Cabul region. Finally, the *Gridhrakûta*, or "Vulture Hills" were, according to Eitel, near modern Giddore. The mysterious Hwah State has already been discussed in my paper on the Ephthalites, already cited. It was clearly one of the petty Oxus States which, as we shall see in due course, crops up once more in the seventh century as Hwoh (probably Ghur). It had evidently been "blowing itself out" for South China's benefit.

The Tah-hoh (probably representing some such intended sound as Taghor) cannot well be anything but the Tigris, the Persian and Arabic names for which are unknown to me. *K'u-sah-hwo* easily represents *Khu-sra-va*, *Khusru*, *Kusludi*, or Chosroës, and the poll-tax was probably four *dirhems*, as under his taxation fruit-trees paid one *dirhem*, and vines eight. The schism of the Western Turks, and their establishment as a separate power in the Issyk-kul region, only took place, at the earliest, about A.D. 560, and the Chinese give us fairly exact accounts of their immediate spread over Tashkend, Bokhara, and all the Ephthalite States. In or about 617-620 the Western Turkish Khan, whom the Chinese call Shê-k'wei, is stated to have "driven back the Po-sz to the west, and extended his dominions as far as Kipin in the south, up to which place everything was his. . . . In 620 he sent envoys with tribute of T'iao-chi ostrich eggs." Thus the ostrich eggs hold out bravely for eight centuries. It is not clear whether the "frequent tribute" was to the Turks; no such tribute appears in the Chinese tribute lists of the period.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, November 24, 1902, a paper was read by R. H. Elliot, Esq., on "The Economical Effects of Recent Indian Currency Legislation." Sir Robert Giffen, K.C.B., in the chair. The following, among others, were present : Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir James Westland, K.C.S.I., Sir Cawasji and Lady Jehangir, Khan Bahadur R. M. Patell, (Judge, Bombay), J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., Albert Rawlinson, Esq., Loraine Petre, Esq., Alexander Rogers, Esq., Raizada Hans Raj, Fred. L. Aublet, Esq., W. R. Arbuthnot, Esq., Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, F. H. Brown, Esq., M. Black, Esq., F. R. Bomanji, Esq., P. V. Bhatt, Esq., Walter Clay, Esq., H. R. Cook, Esq., M. D. Cruickshank, Esq., T. R. B. Elliot, Esq., William Fowler, Esq., Benedict D. W. Ginsburg, LL.D., Fred. H. Hamnett, Esq. (I.C.S., Madras), Dearman Janson, Esq., J. Janni, Esq. (Director Austrian Lloyds S.N.C.), T. A. Kern, Esq., H. B. Muir, H. C. Mussenden, Esq., Brooke Mockett, Esq., Henry McNiel, Esq., E. H. Man, Esq., Bernard Mallet, Esq., A. D. Porter, Esq., Arnold Potter, Esq., Donald Reid, Esq., H. O. Stokes, Esq., J. C. Sanderson, Esq., J. A. Voelcker, Esq., W. Martin Wood, Esq., J. D. White, Esq., and C. W. Arathoon, Esq., Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Mr. Elliot as a distinguished agriculturist in this country, well known in India as one of the leading coffee-planters in Mysore, and known of late years as a gentleman who had written very strikingly and incisively upon currency matters in India.

The paper was read.*

The CHAIRMAN : I have to ask your permission to make one or two remarks. I think we must agree with Mr. Elliot in his general praise of the Indian Government. This is not a meeting for the abuse of the Indian Government, because we do recognise that on the whole that Government is a most admirable Government, and has acted well in many respects for the people of India, always with the best intentions and according to its lights. Even in this matter of Indian currency the Indian Government is not to be treated as if it had acted in ignorance, because, as a matter of fact, they did take into their counsel most eminent men connected with the economics and currency, men like Lord Northbrook, Lord Herschell, Lord Farrer, Mr. Courtney, and others, so that they had a certain weight of authority for what they did. Some of us, like my friend Mr. Fowler, who is here to-day, think they made a mistake, but it was a mistake not without excuse. With regard to Mr. Elliot's criticism, to a certain extent it amounts to this : that whatever the Indian Government may have to say for itself on the score of the necessities which seemed to them to make a currency change necessary, and whatever they may have to say now as to the apparent success, as they maintain, so far, of the experiment in which they

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

engaged, there are yet certain things involved in that currency change which were calculated to produce great evils, and, as a matter of fact, great evils and mischiefs have ensued which are a set-off to any advantages the Indian Government, justly or unjustly, might claim. On this head Mr. Elliot has stated what is really an economic commonplace. It is universally recognised that the enhancement of the value of a currency, and especially any artificial enhancement, is a very dangerous thing for the trade and industry of all the countries affected. The obvious reason is that men who have liabilities suddenly find that by the enhancement of the money, while they are not able to obtain anything more than market value for the things they have got to sell, their expenses are increased by the enhancement of the money in which they have to pay their interest, their wages, and other charges. Accordingly, every time that there have been great changes in money, and the artificial enhancement of the money of a country, there have been complaints, more or less well founded, of injury to trade and industry through that enhancement. To put the matter simply, suppose a man in trade has Rs. 10,000 to pay before the enhancement, and sells produce for £500, with which he can obtain the Rs. 10,000. Suddenly the rupee becomes enhanced, and he has to sell £700 of produce in order to get the Rs. 10,000. Clearly, the difference between £500 and £700 is an enormous one, and that man is very much worse off after the enhancement than he was before. Of course there are compensations of a minor kind, and eventually, I suppose, the rule may be trusted to, that things will adjust themselves, and in the long-run he will be able to reduce his charges; but it may be a very long-run indeed, and meanwhile there is great injury and distress to the people engaged in the trade. On the occasion of the return to specie payments in this country, about the year 1820, great complaints arose, because, in order to return to specie payments, it was necessary to make inconvertible paper more valuable than it was before. Criticism may arise, undoubtedly, as to how far these complaints were justified, but the general nature of the complaint is always the same. You had much the same thing in the United States after the Civil War, when the inconvertible paper of that country was brought up to par. To do that involved a great deal of distress and trouble to people engaged in trade. These are two conspicuous cases of the evils of currency appreciation; and we are not at all surprised at Mr. Elliot being able to bring forward so much evidence of similar evils having occurred in India. It seems to me that what he has said about coffee, about tea, about cotton-planting in Bombay, about cotton cultivation in different parts of India, and about the gold-mining industry, is absolutely conclusive as to the currency change in India having produced certain evils of a very considerable kind, which no Government ought to overlook. No Government can provide for all the consequences, direct and indirect, of its action, but the existence and nature of such evils, and how to meet them, ought not to be ignored. I am not quite sure that I agree with Mr. Elliot altogether in his statements as to the loss suffered by the natives of India in respect to their savings in silver. It seems to me that if a native on that day in June, 1893, mentioned by Mr. Elliot had silver in his possession worth, say, £50, and then the Indian Govern-

ment by a stroke of its pen made the *coined* silver of equal weight worth £75, the native Indian did not lose the difference between the £50 and the £75. To the mind of the native, the inability to convert his uncoined silver into rupees, weight for weight, no doubt was a change of a very serious kind, and one which would give him the impression that his property had been destroyed ; but I think we should hesitate very much to say that the property had in fact been destroyed. Still, the whole nature of the change, and the effect of it upon the savings of the people, is at least one which requires a great deal of investigation and consideration ; and I hope Mr. Elliot will not think, from my criticising this one point in his paper, that I differ from him in the least in the practical conclusion. Then another reason, as it seems to me, why inquiry is called for is this : that the measure of 1893 was introduced by the Indian Government avowedly as an experiment, and as a means of changing the money of India from silver to gold. We are entitled to inquire from time to time, therefore, how that experiment is going on. Sir David Barbour, the foremost agent in promoting the experiment, has himself avowed that the change from silver money to gold money was one that was not to be made without a great deal of effort and of difficulty ; I think it is one that can hardly be made with success at all ; but, still, that is the official view of it, and if that is the case, then the Indian Government is called on to inquire from time to time how that experiment is going on. If, then, you have these evils which Mr. Elliot described, and you have this necessity for observing the course of an experiment from time to time, a strong case, surely, is made out for the inquiry which Mr. Elliot has been pressing upon us. Finally, the very remedy which Mr. Elliot suggests—that of scaling down the rupee again—is a suggestion which, of course, could not be arranged for without a great deal of inquiry by the Government of India and others. It would cause a great deal of surprise if the Indian Government were to make a confession, as it were, that the experiment which they made in 1893, when they contemplated raising the rupee, not merely to rs. 4d., but possibly to rs. 6d., or even higher figures, has so far not been a success in the main object, that of giving India a gold money for a silver money. Unfortunately, so long as you have an artificial money such as you have now got in India (because you have neither a silver metal nor a gold metal for your standard, but something else), you must make inquiries of this kind as to what the artificial money you have got is going to be. For all these reasons Mr. Elliot, I think, has made a very good case for an inquiry such as he suggests.

MR. WILLIAM FOWLER was one of those who had always fully appreciated the difficulties of the situation of the Indian Government on account of the fall in silver. Anyone accustomed to discuss economical questions must see that their difficulties were very great. The question was, What was the right way to go to work ? He gave evidence before the Committee in 1893, and opposed the idea of closing the mints, and therefore he could speak now with perfect freedom, and not be accused of having changed his mind in a foolish way if he said that he thought the closing of the mints was a great mistake. It was the wrong way to go to work. In

the year 1899, almost at the very moment when the report of Sir Henry Fowler's Committee was issued, he wrote a paper in which he pointed out what he regarded as the results of the closing of the mints, and the view that he took of the future results of the fixed exchange, as it is called, of rs. 4d. Almost every word had been in a most remarkable manner confirmed. It was interesting to note that one of the most eminent of the Indian traders in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Sassoon, stated in the House of Commons on Friday last that he was very much troubled because the results of the fixed exchange and the managed currency had been very disappointing to him as a trader in India. He pointed out that from every point of view it was an extremely unsatisfactory position. The Government had succeeded in putting on the shoulders of the people a very heavy loss, and escaping it themselves. He (Mr. Fowler) did not speak as a bimetallist, or anything of that kind. He was what the American called a gold bug, and always had been so far as England was concerned; but he always thought that silver might suit some countries, and gold might suit others. What they had in India was neither gold nor silver. It was a very curious thing that this effort to make India use gold was an entire failure. The Indians did not want the gold. They believed in silver. The rupee was a stabler coin than the sovereign. That was a very strong proposition to make, but it was a fact. If they took the fluctuations of prices of articles measured in rupees in India, they would find the fluctuations were not so great as the fluctuations of prices of articles in England in gold in any given considerable period. The rupee still did its work as a coin; but the trouble was that the Government had to pay such a lot of gold, and they get all their revenue in silver. That was the crux of the business. The objection he and others had taken had been that this was a very serious matter for the people of India and for the trade of India. The answer had been, "Oh, but we are all very well off. The Government is doing very well. It has got large surpluses." And the loss was, as it were, hidden; it was spread over such a vast area, and the people who lost the money did not exactly understand what was the matter, and were not powerful enough to make their voice heard in this country. But it was most remarkable to read Sir Edward Sassoon. He said: "In India three points must be considered—the question of the railways, the rate at which exports progressed, and the general condition of the manufacturing industries of the country. They were told that the exports showed an increase of something like 16 per cent. on the four years. But that increase was an increase on famine years, and it was the result of a year which came after the soil had had two years of enforced rest. He doubted too, whether that increase was at all equal to the increase which would have taken place had there not been a trouble about the currency." With regard to railways, he said the accounts were not satisfactory, because the Government put down as income of railways payment made to the Government by the Government for the movement of goods by Government. As regards the manufacturing industries he spoke very strongly. "Let them take the staple manufacturing industry of Bombay. Something like fifteen to twenty crores of rupees were invested in cotton-mills in

Bombay, and, out of sixty mills which were in a flourishing condition before the closing of the mints, ten were about to be closed, and fifteen of the most important were eking out a precarious existence, being utterly unable to cope with the critical position which confronted them. The tea, indigo, and coffee planting industries were likewise unable to sustain any sort of competition with the same industries coming to Europe from silver-standard countries." Altogether this speech was a speech of despair from a man of special information, and about whose integrity no one could entertain the slightest doubt. The general impression on his mind was that the whole arrangements that had been made had failed—that is to say, they had failed from the point of view of the *people* of India. He did not say they had failed from the point of view of the Government of India. They brought large budgets and large surpluses, and the House of Commons went away very comfortable, and said how happy India was. But they forgot all about those details which the lecturer had given them about the condition of the people, and about the tax upon their industry. Obviously, any change in currency acted very slowly, and it was very difficult to indicate exactly how it operated, but, as Sir Robert had pointed out, it did operate, and they could not help its operating, and could not get rid of a loss by talking about it. Somebody had to pay it, and the question was, Who was to pay it? He thought the Indian Government ought to pay it rather than the people; but, of course, the Indian Government said, "Well, but if you reduce the value of the rupee, you lessen our income, and you must have more taxes. We cannot find any more taxes." That was the burden of the evidence throughout the Committee of 1898-99. They said, "We must therefore let the thing fall upon the people." He had tried to prove that it would not have been at all impossible to increase the taxation both by Customs and by direct taxation—at any rate by Customs—to an extent which would have gone a long way to meet this difficulty. The Government themselves would find it out if the lecturer was right. The trade, the condition of the people, would go back, and therefore the Government taxation would not be as productive as it had been. What they wanted to see was the real prosperity of the people of India, and not a nominal prosperity. What he had read the last few days strongly confirmed his view that a managed currency is a bad currency, and that they ought not to leave India in this position of having no real money. At the present moment he considered India had no true money in the old-fashioned sense of the word. Each rupee was like an inconvertible bit of paper; you could not turn it into gold. You could use it because everybody would take it, just like the five-franc piece in France.

MR. L. C. PROBYN wished to say that the reference to the date of the passing of the Currency Act as June, 1893, was misleading. That was the date when the mints were closed. The determination to put the money of India on a gold basis was not come to till 1899. It was, he thought, a mistake to treat it as a mere matter of exchange. The Act of 1899 was passed with a deliberate intention of putting the money of India on a gold basis; it was not merely for the sake of exchange. Up to the passing of that Act the standard of India had been a rupee weighing 180 grains of

silver. Since the passing of the Act the standard has come to be a rupee weighing still 180 grains of silver, but representing about 7 grains of gold. The change was deliberately made, and he thought it would be a great mistake to alter it. Mr. Elliot had alluded to the £300,000,000 worth of silver which the natives of India went to bed with on June 25, 1893. Three hundred crores of silver was not £300,000,000, or anything like it. At that time it was £187,000,000 at the outside.

MR. ELLIOT: I said that for purchases in India it might be taken to be so.

MR. L. C. PROBYN: The value of silver really only fell by one-seventh in June, 1893, from 38d. to 33d. per ounce. He thought Mr. Elliot unnecessarily sympathetic with the Indian gold-mines. As far as he could make out, those Mysore gentlemen could well afford their loss.

MR. ALBERT RAWLINSON said that, attention having been drawn to the disadvantages attending the appreciation of a currency, he would like to say a word as to those attending its depreciation, as it was with a view to check this that the Indian Government had closed the mints. Under the heading of "Famines" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," it was observed that there was very direct testimony to show that a depreciated currency had frequently in the past occasioned famine distress—notably in A.D. 1124, when "by means of changing the coine all things became very deare, whereof an extreme famine did arise and afflict the multitude of the people." Other instances in 1248, 1390, and 1586 were also there referred to. It was the wage-earning class rather than the cultivator who had filled the relief camps in India. The Government records showed, moreover, that the price of commodities had more than doubled in the up-country bazaars between 1875 and 1900, and he cited this as evidence in favour of the view that the distress was in a measure a money famine, owing to a depreciation in the purchasing power of the currency. Mr. Elliot, in contending that a low exchange was entirely in favour of exports, seemed to forget that, as explained by Mill, international trade was in effect merely an international barter of commodities. It was impossible to suppose that the exports of tea and coffee to England could be made to exchange for a greater bulk of English goods or English sovereigns than at present merely by altering the internal currency. The net result to a country was, he thought, the same under a high or low exchange, but a currency that fluctuated in value operated unfairly on particular classes and interests, and gave rise to serious administrative difficulties.

SIR JAMES WESTLAND regretted that he had been unable from the paper which had been read to see how the effects arose which were attributed to the currency policy. General statements had been made discrediting the closing of the mints, and as to not being able to recoup loss, which were quite true; but, still, he was unable to understand from what point of view the lecturer deprecated what had been done in India. In all the cases mentioned, such as tea, coffee, and cotton, the results had arisen from the fact that the agriculturist found his market for these things in a country which was on a gold basis, namely, England, and the prices he got, therefore, were continually depreciating. It must be remembered that for some

years previously to the currency legislation in question the value of silver, and the amount of gold given in exchange for it, had been constantly decreasing. He had been listening to find out how far the losses which had occurred in these commodities were to be attributed to the fall which took place during those twenty-five years, or to anything that had occurred since the legislation of 1893. Obviously, when the price of tea fell the proprietor received very much less, but that had nothing to do with the effects of currency legislation in 1893. That legislation had stopped the decline altogether, and now tea and coffee were at least of fixed value. He thought careful investigation should be made as to what were the actual results of that legislation. One result of the 1893 legislation, no doubt, was greatly to reduce the invested capital of the planter. He was unable to understand how the ordinary peasant class had lost anything by the depreciation of silver ornaments, and he could not see that any duty lay on the Government of India to make good that loss. The question was not whether they had lost silver value, but whether they had lost exchange value as against consumable commodities. If the Government of India had erred, he might safely say that it had not erred out of mere perversity. At the time of the controversy they were warned by economists in England that all sorts of evil would befall them, but hardly any of those results had arrived. The Government had not trusted to its own opinion, but it put the matter into the hands of a Commission appointed in this country, which made a very careful investigation into all the facts. Personally he thought the Government of India were perfectly right in what they did. It was a very controverted subject, but he thought they had succeeded in what they intended, and had at least put the rupee on a firm basis. (Applause.)

MR. J. D. REES remembered that when the mints were closed Mr. Jacob explained that, although it was true that people who sold their produce, and sent home their coffee, would be getting Rs. 1,500 where they formerly got Rs. 1,800, yet gold prices would rise to such an extent that they would not be at a loss. As Sir Robert Giffen had pointed out, that good time was a long time coming. It seemed to him that producers who sold their goods outside India were most distinctly at a loss at present. So far he thought Mr. Elliot made out his case; but when he went on to say that the people of India were impoverished, and, as he understood him, that famines were more frequent, because of this policy, he could not see what shadow of proof there was of that position. Mr. Fowler had asserted that the rupee was a more stable and better coin than the sovereign. He himself would hesitate to say so much, but the rupee did not seem to have fallen in purchasing power. He sympathized sincerely with the tea and coffee planters, and thought they were prejudiced; but it was a fallacy to suppose that therefore all the natives who contributed to bringing the produce to market were also prejudiced. He thought Mr. Elliot had not made out that part of his case in which he said that owing to this legislation the condition of the people of India had deteriorated. The tea and coffee planters were on an absolute different footing. When they were dealing with an Empire 6,000 miles away, it was obvious that

economical conditions must be very complex, and possibly one class might profit whilst another lost. Just as the native producers did not profit as might be supposed, as a matter of course, and to the extent indicated by foreign trade, so in turn they were not prejudiced to the extent which might be surmised by currency legislation which might adversely affect the exporters. He saw no proof that the people of India were crying out about the depreciation of their ornaments. Mr. Elliot had said that the currency had prejudiced the planters, and he believed that was the planters' case—had, indeed, no doubt on the subject—but how came it that two prominent planters who represented that industry in the Madras Legislative Council were satisfied that it had not prejudiced them? Would Mr. Elliot explain this matter to his satisfaction? As to the mill-owners in Bombay, he did not assert that there was not great depression—there obviously was, but the Bombay Census Report showed, he believed, a large increase in the number of factory hands in the last ten years. Mr. Elliot had referred to Baroda, and said that if a man was paid 2 annas in British currency he was so much worse off than if he got 2 annas in the former currency; but how did he make out that? The man got 2 annas before the mints were closed, and got 2 annas now. It was no business of his to defend the Indian Government, but if it really did pack the Currency Commission nothing could be too bad to say about it, and the assumption that these proceedings were friendly was severely shaken by such a suggestion. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had said last year that the finances of India were much better managed than the finances of England, and in better condition. It was suggested by Mr. Probyn that the Mysore gold-mines were in such a prosperous condition that it did not matter to them what they lost on exchange. Some of these mines paid over 100 per cent., and all occupied an exceptionally eminent position as concerns the management of which was absolutely above suspicion; but for one gold-mine that paid there were a hundred mines that did not, and this was a condition of the mining industry. It was absurd, he thought, to talk of the ignorance and extravagance of the Indian administrators, in the face of Sir M. Hicks-Beach's words, and the fact that the Indian Consols had actually, at no distant period, stood higher than those guaranteed by the British Government.

MR. HENRY MCNIEL said it had been suggested that it was a doubtful point whether the tea-planters had not been more affected by the fall in prices preceding 1893 than the fall since the mints were closed. He understood the reference to be to gold prices. Of course there had been a general fall in gold prices; but planters were affected both by gold prices and rupee prices. Now, it was undoubted that ten years ago the tea trade in India was exceedingly prosperous, whereas now it was in a bad condition. Mr. George Seton, a well-known authority, had shown that the market value of the tea companies of India and Ceylon was £22,000,000 in 1897, while their market value this year was only £13,000,000; and that, of forty-five tea companies in India, twenty-four had paid no dividend last year, and, with one or two exceptions, these were the largest concerns. Some alleged the cause to be "over-production," but he considered it was

under-consumption, and for this the monetary system was to some extent, at least, to blame. To prove that the question of currency entered into the matter, he would refer to a very interesting report of the British Consul-General at New York to our Foreign Office, which showed that the consumption of Ceylon and Indian tea, which had been making some headway in the United States, had been checked, and was indeed going backward. The secret of this was disclosed in the prices quoted in the report, which were given in United States cents. The Chinese exporter was able to undersell the Ceylon and Indian exporter in cents, and yet, being on a silver basis, he got a higher relative price returned to him in Chinese silver taels than the Indian or Ceylon exporter got in his artificially enhanced rupees, owing to India being on a "gold system," and to there being no par of exchange between gold and silver moneys. This "handicap" applies to every industry with which China can compete. He sympathized with the exchange troubles which the Indian Government had for a time undergone, and he desired to see stability in the exchange, but they had taken the most unfortunate means by which to attain this. The Government claimed to have "saved" considerably in their home remittances by the recent steadiness in exchange, but this steadiness had been secured, not by natural, but by artificial means, and, as a matter of fact, this "saving" had really come out of the pockets of the Indian people. The Budget surpluses had given people the erroneous idea that India's industries were most prosperous. But these surpluses showed only that the Treasury was prosperous owing to the amount of taxes collected in artificially-enhanced rupees, whereas there were many evidences that the mass of the people were by no means in a condition of prosperity. India's foreign trade had not advanced relatively in recent years, as it had done previously. The low price of Bombay cotton-mill shares told its own sad tale, and, indeed, with the exception of jute, and perhaps rice, her large productive industries were stated by competent judges to be in a deplorable condition, and it was freely asserted that no capitalist in London would to-day find fresh capital for any of them. He did not quite follow the reasoning which saw no hardship to the native in the way his savings, in the form of silver ornaments, had been affected. If now, owing to the mints being closed, he only got half the number of rupees that he formerly got for a given weight of ornaments, and if, as the Secretary of State had declared in the House of Commons, the price of life-supporting food-stuffs in India has not materially altered, surely the native is a heavy loser, and suffers severely. They were told the alternative to the present monetary system was increased taxation. He would not argue the question of alternatives then, but would point out that there had, in fact, been a very great increase in taxation in recent years, both directly and indirectly. He earnestly supported the request for an independent inquiry into the working of the currency legislation in India, and its effect upon industry there. The system had now had several years' trial, and the condition of most of India's industries, and the dissatisfaction of so many able and intelligent men connected with them, whose interests were entirely bound up in the weal or woe of our Great Dependency, constituted a strong claim upon the

Government to grant such an inquiry, and if the outcome should be of benefit to the people, he was sure no one would rejoice more than the Government and Lord Curzon. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said he was sorry to stop so interesting a discussion, but at that late hour in the afternoon he must ask Mr. Elliot to reply to the observations that had been made.

MR. ELLIOT said in some cases one speaker had answered another. He would be sorry that it should be thought he had spoken of the officials of India as if they were knowingly to blame for what had occurred. He had used the word "unwittingly" on more than one occasion in the paper. But those officials had not that widespread knowledge which was necessary. He did not think the Indian Government had the slightest idea of the range of evils that would accrue from their policy. As to the inquiry in England, it was a partial inquiry. Nobody was called to represent the landed interest of India. The Committee appointed was not a fair Committee, the evidence taken was not fair evidence, and the verdict given on the evidence was an unfair verdict. If—as he hoped would be the case—they had another inquiry, they must insist on having a properly-constituted Committee, and witnesses representing the various classes must be examined. Mr. Rees had asked what evidence there was of the fact that the currency measure acted so as to produce a loss to anybody in India. All he could say was that his own estate, which yielded a loss last year, would have yielded a profit but for the currency legislation. As regarded the ornaments, he had been in communication with a gentleman in Baroda, in whom he had every confidence, who had given him the information he had referred to. He thought they had had a very interesting discussion, but he regretted they had not heard the indigo-planter who was the only representative of his class in the room. In conclusion, he would simply say that he thought he had made out a sound case for an inquiry. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall be glad to hear Mr. Reid, the indigo-planter, if he will favour us with a few observations.

MR. DONALD N. REID said he was the only indigo-planter present at that meeting. Indigo-planters were not given to either writing to the newspapers or to speaking in public, and he held in his hand the only letter from an indigo-planter that appeared in the *Pioneer* during the year 1892. It was written by himself, and the last paragraph ran as follows: "I do not see where the profit is to come in unless the value of the rupee sinks to something like 1s. For instance, last year, with the rupee at 1s. 5d., my indigo sold at only Rs. 180 per maund, a most disappointing result. But if the rupee falls to 1s., as I hope it will, I should get close on Rs. 300 per maund for indigo this year, and make a small profit, notwithstanding the indifferent crop." Well, the rupee was at 1s. 2d. in the months of that year when the indigo was being sold, and his indigo sold at an average of Rs. 320 per maund. He points to a map of the Saran district for the year 1843, and said that was the most densely populated district in India, and the following were its census returns for the last four decades: In 1871 the population was 2,063,860; in 1881, 2,297,666; in 1891, 2,467,477;

but in 1901 the population of Saran numbered only 2,361,079, a decrease in ten years of 106,398 souls, leaving out of account the normal increase which would have resulted if the population had been healthy. How could this decrease be accounted for? He might state that the driest of the decade of years in Saran was the seventies, and yet in 1881 a substantial increase in the population was shown by the census returns of that year. The decrease in the nineties was caused, in his opinion, by starvation, owing to the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver, and also to the artificial value that had been given to the rupee by the action of the Government. In the last years of the nineties the indigo-planters and the natives of Saran had less money to spend, and the result of that was shown in the high death-rate of this densely populated district.

THE CHAIRMAN said they had a clear duty before them, and that was to unite in expressing their thanks to Mr. Elliot for the paper which he had read, and the interesting discussion which he had provoked. All the speakers had not agreed with Mr. Elliot, but he had held his own very well.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Elliot was then carried by acclamation, and, on the suggestion of Sir Lepel Griffin, a vote of thanks to the Chairman was also carried, and the proceedings terminated.

THE GRIEVANCES OF INDIAN SUBJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE following communication was sent from the East India Association to the Colonial Secretary before his departure for South Africa :

3, Victoria Street, Westminster,
November 12, 1902.

*The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State
for the Colonies.*

SIR,

The Council of the East India Association have more than once had the honour to press on your consideration the claims of British Indian subjects in Natal and other colonies of South Africa, and at the present time, when you are about to pay that country a visit from which it is hoped and believed that great advantage to the Empire may result, the Council would again venture to call your special attention to the grievances of which Indian immigrants complain, and which, in the opinion of the East India Association, require early redress.

2. The Association has no desire to take up your time with a reiteration of facts and arguments with which you are familiar, nor would they confuse the question at issue by any reference to political questions or claims to representation in self-governing colonies.

3. All that the Association urges is that immigrants of Indian birth, not being indentured coolies, should be treated with that justice, liberality, and equality which is the inherent right of all subjects of His Majesty, who, like

Indian traders, are loyal, peaceable, intelligent, sober, and valuable citizens, and that the disabilities and restrictions which are now imposed upon them, and which are opposed to the whole spirit of modern civilization, should be removed.

4. The splendid service rendered by Indian subjects in Natal during the late war should insure them just and honourable treatment.

I have the honour to remain,

Your most obedient servant,

LEPEL GRIFFIN,

*Chairman, Council East India
Association.*

Downing Street,

December 3, 1902.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th ultimo, with reference to the position of British Indian subjects in Natal and the other South African Colonies. I am to state that this representation will not be lost sight of.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. Bertram Cox.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC
AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

SIR,

The splendid scheme which the Government of India has planned and now made public to develop the natural resources of that Empire deserves to be made known as widely as possible, and to receive every encouragement from those who have the guidance and welfare of that great country at heart. The mineral wealth which has been extracted from its mines in ages past and accumulated in the shape of precious stones and metals has been recognised of great value, and was doubtless the chief inducement to adventurous spirits of this country in early times to seek a share in its trade, and, step by step, gradually to assume the government of the country, and weld it into the homogeneous Empire it now is, with our King as Ruler of the different races and Emperor of the whole peninsula.

In a paper published this year, dated Simla, August 28,* containing a synopsis of the work that has been done, and which the Indian Government consider should be extended and worked out on a more comprehensive plan and on a scientific and more practical basis, the whole of this machinery has been grouped under different heads, but is now to be placed under a united organization. The different departments comprise meteorology,† geology,‡ botany, forestry, land surveying, agriculture, breeding and care of live-stock under proper veterinary supervision, each under a competent head, and all working and combining their work towards a central department which will amalgamate the whole, and be enabled to work out plans

* Entitled Government of India. Department of Revenue and Agriculture—"Economic Products." See note elsewhere in this *Review*.

† Including climatology.

‡ Including mineralogy.

for developing the wealth of the country and ameliorating the lives of its different inhabitants.

Hitherto these operations have been worked under separate heads without reference to a central and combining authority, and thus a large amount of labour and skilled work has been dissipated or lost from a lack of opportunity or felicity of adaptation in arranging and bringing together the results of each department. By this new method of work and organization fresh fields of industry will be opened up; the resources of the country will be largely developed; epidemic diseases will be checked at the initial stage; famines, so disastrous to different parts of the country, will be met by the advancement of agriculture, giving a more productive and plentiful supply of food, aided by works of irrigation being established in districts requiring a good supply of water.

This paper, published by the Department of Revenue and Agriculture of the Government of India, is entitled "Constitution of a Board of Economic Inquiry for the furtherance of Scientific Work in India," and in the sixth paragraph it says: "In view of the fact that the Indian Government own the largest landed estate in the world, that the prosperity of the country is at present mainly dependent upon agriculture, that its economic and industrial resources have been very imperfectly explored, and that the funds available for scientific work are limited, the importance of practical research is pre-eminent, and a central authority that can speak with knowledge upon scientific questions will be in a position to enforce the repeated declarations of the Government of India on the subject."

A president and secretary will be appointed, together with the heads of the various departments noted above, as members of the newly constituted Board, with other scientific authorities whom the Indian Government may invite to assist in their deliberations. The work of the different departments will be reviewed by them and advice.

given where necessary, and in each year proposals from each department in their programme of investigation will be received and discussed, and a general outline of research work to be undertaken will be submitted annually to the Government. Each department will thus do its own specific work, and when completed will be reviewed in conjunction with the work of the other sections, and thus a complete synoptical view of the whole will be obtained, and advantage taken by combining and co-ordinating the result of all the operations taken together. It is proposed that two meetings be held during each year—one to consider the work of the past year and proposals for the programme of the coming year in each department, the other to finally settle those programmes subject to the approval of Government.

The main object of this scheme embraces two desiderata—to increase the food-supply of the people of India and the development of its mineral wealth, and the plan embodied in the paper will do much towards this desired end.

The Indian Government deserve great credit for promulgating this rational and practical scheme, which is sure to be followed by most beneficial results, not only to the inhabitants of that country, but as a guidance to every State that has its best interests at heart. India has been said to be “an epitome of the whole earth,” as it combines in its large extent every variety of clime, from mountains clad with perpetual snow to plains with intense heat, sandy wastes, broad and fertile districts, and impenetrable forests. It has, then, an advantage in the field of research it is developing, and, in widening and enlarging those fields, may be looked upon as a pioneer in discoveries of value, not only to its own people, but to other nations whose resources require only such a scheme to unfold their wealth and increase the industry of the people.

GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

Colchester, *December*, 1902.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

SIR,

I have just been looking through the October number of your *Review*. It appears to me very strange that so many statistics are employed to show the general poverty of India, when one or two simple facts can establish this circumstance on the best authority. First, it is a plain truth that the rates for lending money in the bazaars have quite doubled in the last fifty years, having risen from an average of 20 per cent. to over 40 per cent. ; it is, then, quite impossible for capital to have been accumulating, and, as population has largely increased in numbers during this same period of time, the funds for wages must have decreased, and all industries must have suffered in consequence, so it is impossible for the railways to have conferred on the country those "incalculable benefits" which they are always being credited with at the India Office. It is the common complaint of all the railway engineers that there are *no* "feeders," or good common roads, to bring traffic to their lines. Now, as the value of land is dependent, almost entirely, on the existence of good common roads, as all English land surveyors will tell you, it is no wonder that the railways have not enhanced the value of real estate by a single farthing, and as taxation has been enormously increased to pay for their construction and maintenance, the means for carrying on the great industry—agriculture—cannot by any possibility have been improved, for at the same time, by depriving the country of a good and sufficient water-supply, the live-stock of the cultivators has been ruined, as the Viceroy himself has pointed out on a public occasion. Without good roads and a good water-supply, land cannot by any possibility be profitably cultivated, and hence it is that the land-tax of India has always been such an intolerable burden during all ages, and no progress whatever has been made in cultivating the land under any system of merely collecting land revenue ; the whole thing is a farce and a failure from beginning to end, and must be radically changed before any good results can by any possibility be obtained.

Again, we have only to look at the Post-Office revenue of India to see the miserable state of poverty and ignorance which prevails generally throughout the country ; its yield is only 2d. per head of population per annum for all their social and commercial intercourse, whereas in England one-seventh of the number of people can afford to pay 8s. per head of population per annum for the same purpose. Such facts as the above describe very clearly the wretched condition of the people of India, and it is no wonder when famines occur the mortality amongst men and beasts is perfectly appalling, and relief is almost impossible. The remedy is easy enough if only the work were set about in any proper manner, but this the people of England *must* do ; the India Office, of itself, will never allow their "*Ma'mul*" to be changed except by force of Parliament.

R. E.

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

SIR,

I send you below an extract from *Indian Engineering* of September 13, 1902, showing the results of the working of the railways in the United Kingdom for the year 1901, from the Returns of the Board of Trade. "It is discouraging to find the *net* yield on the paid-up capital the lowest during the thirty-two years for which the figures have been kept. It is no better than 3·27 per cent. compared with 3·41 per cent. in 1900. Even ten years ago it has been 4 per cent., and over 4½ per cent. in 1873. The main cause is the increase in working expenses. In 1873 the ratio to gross receipts was 53 per cent.; for 1901 it was 63 per cent. Since 1873 the mileage has increased from 16,082 miles to 22,078 miles, and the paid-up capital has grown from £588,320,000 to £1,195,564,478. The capital has *more than doubled*, whilst the gross receipts have gone up from £57,742,000 to £106,558,000, an increase only of 84 per cent. The working expenses have increased from £30,752,000 to £67,489,000, an increase of 119 per cent., leading to the *inevitable lowering of profits*."

If in a country like England the above are the results obtained by the development of the railway system, on what possible grounds can it be expected that better results can be realized in a country like India? At home we have an abundance of skilled labour, directed by the most intelligent, experienced superintendence in the world, and in about thirty years, though the capital outlay has *more than doubled*, the working expenses have so increased that the profits have decreased something like 30 per cent. ! And what probability is there of their ever increasing again whilst all heavy non-paying traffic is forced on the metals by the canals and waterways being shut up or neglected? George Stephenson foresaw all this, and always deprecated this policy as being suicidal to the railway interest; and the result has been just what he anticipated, and we are even now assured by the highest India Office authorities that the benefits to India by the railway system are "simply incalculable," where 80 per cent. of the population are engaged in agriculture carried on in the most primitive manner possible, always subject to lose their lives and stock by famines, and amongst whom the grossest ignorance and superstitious prejudices prevail to the utmost.

It appears from this same professional journal that the earnings of Indian railways, from April 1 to August 16, 1902, have *decreased* by more than forty-five lacs of rupees, when compared with those of the previous years ! That is to say, as soon as the State expenditure for famine and relief works is stopped, the earnings of these railways fall off, and we may well inquire what profits are likely to be realized by such works when the bazaar rates for lending money are from 36 to 48 per cent., and the people are systematically deprived of all means for improving their agricultural operations and carrying them on in any secure manner—even their live-stock is allowed to perish in the most appalling manner, and the losses thereby inflicted on them are declared, by the Viceroy himself, to be beyond all calculation.

J. F. FISCHER, GENL. R.E.

Bangalore, December, 1902.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY QUESTION : WHAT IS SEEN
AND NOT SEEN.

SIR,

Sir Robert Giffen, in opening the discussion on Mr. R. H. Elliot's paper, took a firm step towards the strictly economical branch of the subject, in condemning the supersession, in 1893, of the automatic system of coinage and currency that had prevailed in India up to that period. And he reminded us that, as any "managed" plan must proceed on curtailment of the circulating medium, or other diminution of legal tender, the one certain effect is diminution of prices and profits, and also arbitrary enhancement of debtors' or taxpayers' obligations. No definite estimate was given during the discussion as to the extent of that restriction; but some idea of what its effect must have been on producers in India—that is, including the millions of cultivators—may be gained from an answer, in June last, by the Indian Secretary to a question by Sir Edward Sassoon. These are the figures as officially stated: "The annual average of rupees coined in the ten years, from 1883-4 to 1892-3, was 78,070,508; in the nine years 1893-94 to 1901-02, it was about 31,495,610." And of this, over 20,000,000 represented re-coinage for the Native States, and, probably, some "British dollars" for Singapore and the Straits. It is only skilled economists or close statistical observers in the internal provinces of India, who can realize the crushing economic effect that this enormous restriction of currency and increase of indebtedness must have had on rural India—that is, on three-fourths of the population. One step towards tracing the weight of this factitious burden, thus imposed on the Indian producer, is to note the four or five millions (Dawkins pounds) of "profit" made by coining the new "token" rupee. As Mr. William Fowler showed, in two or three different ways, the Indian Government (WhitehallcumSimla) has evaded loss to itself, but shifted that on to other people's shoulders; it has vanished from the Budget, but has been laid upon the people. And not only has its "loss" been hidden, it has made a "profit"—as above—and its Finance Minister chortles over his "prosperity" surplus. Yet even Mr. Fowler, with that colour-blindness that besets English politicians, failed to see the root-cause of all the trouble—the withdrawal from India, year by year, of nearly one-third of its revenue, to be disbursed in this United Kingdom, contributing to our income; while the British Treasury, as only a fortnight ago, refuses even a paltry £50,000 as a set-off. But Mr. Fowler, who has (intermittently) followed this branch-root of the problem ever since Mr. Goschen's Silver Committee of 1876, can define the diagnosis, and knows well that no mere currency devices or artificial "stable exchange" will avail for cure of India's deep-set financial malady. Perhaps the most remarkable *obiter dictum* during the debate was one by Sir James Westland—that is, if he was correctly understood. When he claimed, as the result of the scheme, that "exchange" has remained steady, he, on being reminded that this was only secured by artificial and arbitrary means, replied, to the effect, that the method does not matter so long as the end (removal of "loss by exchange" from the Budget figures) is

accomplished ! This must have set the instructed portion of his audience thinking over that very large chapter in economics which treats of " what is seen, and what is not seen."

W. MARTIN WOOD.

Weybridge,

December, 1902.

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION, 1902.

On January 27, 1902, a Commission was appointed " to inquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities established in British India ; to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be, made for improving their constitution and working ; and recommend to the Governor-General in Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching and to promote the advancement of learning." The Commissioners, in discharge of their duty, visited the five University towns of India, and public sittings were held during February, March, and April last in Madras, Poona, Bombay, Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, and Lahore. Also subcommittees of the Commission visited Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Jubbulpore, Patna, Kurseong, Agra, and Aligarh. The Report of the Commission states that in all 156 witnesses were examined ; a considerable number of witnesses and others furnished written statements bearing on the points to which the inquiry was directed. A considerable number of colleges and institutions, affiliated to the Universities, were also visited. In Calcutta there were 13 such institutions ; in Patna, 3 ; in Kurseong, 1 ; in Madras, 7 ; in Bangalore, 1 ; in Bombay, 5 ; in Poona, 3 ; in Ahmedabad, 1 ; in Allahabad, 3 ; in Benares, 2 ; in Lucknow, 3 ; in Agra, 3 ; in Aligarh, 1 ; in Nagpur, 3 ; in Jubbulpore 2 ; in Lahore, 9.

The Report refers to the ancient native systems of higher education, and traces briefly the history of Indian Universities and the changes that have recently taken place. It states that " there has been a considerable increase in the number of colleges and institutions affiliated in Calcutta and Madras. Calcutta, which started with 10 Arts colleges, has now 46 first-grade and 32 second-grade collegiate institutions ; Madras has 15 first-grade and 39 second-grade colleges ; Bombay has 10 first-grade colleges and only 1 second-grade college ; Allahabad has now 17 first and 13 second colleges ; and the Punjab University has 8 colleges of the first and 7 of the second grade."

The Commission recommends certain alterations in reference to Senates, faculties, staff, libraries, curriculum of studies, fees, and various other details with respect to college life and accommodation ; but the principal recommendations are summed up as follows : " The legal powers of the older Universities should be enlarged, so that all the Universities may be recognised as teaching bodies. Undergraduates should be left in the main to the colleges, but the Universities may make better provision for advanced courses of study, and may appoint their own lecturers, provide libraries and laboratories, and see that residential quarters are maintained for

students from a distance." "The local limits of each University should be more accurately defined than they now are. Steps should be taken to remove from the Calcutta list the affiliated colleges in the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, the Punjab, etc. The Central Provinces and Central India should be assigned to Allahabad. The colleges in Ceylon, which send candidates to Calcutta, should be transferred to Madras, unless the colonial authorities are prepared to make more suitable provision for their needs. The arrangement under which the Punjab Government holds University examinations at Lucknow should be reconsidered. If a college situated within the local limits of a University desires for any special reason to apply for affiliation to another University, its application should be addressed, in the first instance, to the local University, and the application should not be granted unless with the consent of both Syndicate and the sanction of the Government of India. The question of creating new Universities should be postponed until the changes now proposed in the constitution and working of existing Universities have been tested by experience."

The Bombay Presidency Association, by its Council, has forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department), Calcutta, dated October 9 last, a letter, in which representations are made in connection with the Report of the Commission. This letter states that the higher education in India, as it at present exists, with all its defects and shortcomings, has made new India what it is in a large measure, and is further destined to powerfully mould the social, religious, political, and material progress of the people, and to influence the advancement of Western culture and science. The Council, however, considers that in the composition of the Commission "Indian knowledge and experience were most inadequately represented," and it controverts the theory that "efficiency" is the first and paramount principle to be considered. It views "with grave apprehension the recommendations of the Commission in regard to the constitution of the Syndicate and the Senate," also as to the affiliation of institutions on certain conditions, and with respect to second-grade colleges, which the Council regard as "a necessary stage in the educational evolution" of the country. The Council also objects to laying "down courses of study for the Arts and Science degree on one uniform and rigid principle," and also with reference to the "minimum rate of fees." In short, this able communication deserves careful consideration by the Government of India on a matter of such supreme importance to the further advancement of higher education in India.

On October 24 a circular letter from Simla was issued by the Government of India, in which it is stated that the Governor-General in Council disclaims emphatically any intention of receding from the policy set forth in the Education Despatch of 1854, and affirmed by the Education Commission of 1882. "The policy there indicated remains unshaken." It also states "that nothing can be further from the intentions of the Government of India or of the Commission than to initiate a policy which would tend to make education the monopoly of the rich." With regard to the question of second-grade colleges, the policy of the Govern-

ment would be "carried out very gradually, and after careful consultation with the local authorities," and earnestly invite "a full expression of opinion with special reference to the circumstances of Bombay, Madras, etc.," on the various points now under discussion.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

A resolution was issued from Simla on August 28 last on the "Constitution of a Board of Economic Inquiry for the Furtherance of Scientific Work in India." This resolution sets forth "that the application of the resources of modern science to the economic and agricultural development of the country has for many years engaged the earnest attention of the Government of India," and also states that besides the report of the Famine Commissioners of 1898, other circumstances have "indicated the increasing importance of the study of the economic products of India and of its mineral-bearing track, with a view to the development of the industrial and economic resources of the country." The organization and work of the Indian Agricultural and Scientific Departments show that undue prominence has been given in the past to pure science, to the neglect of its economic application, and they affirm the necessity of extending the economic side of inquiry and of reordinating the labours of the different departments on the basis of a well-considered working plan. This policy has been steadily pursued, and to the geological department two practical mining experts have been added, while each year a portion of the scientific staff have devoted themselves to inquiries connected with the mineral resources of India. A cryptogamic botanist has been appointed, whose special duty it is to study the fungoid diseases of agricultural staples, such as rust on wheat, which causes such serious and widespread loss to the country. In Madras a botanist has been permanently entertained, whose attention will be mainly devoted to economic inquiry. And of late years the attention of the officers of the Botanic Survey has been more and more directed to questions of practical importance. The establishment of the Reporter on Economic Products has been strengthened, and a curator with special qualifications as an economic chemist has been added to it and provided with a laboratory, while one agricultural chemist pursues his inquiries at Dehra Dun, and it is proposed to procure another for Madras. An entomologist has for some time past been added to the staff of the Indian Museum. A specially qualified forest officer has been deputed for investigations of the insect pests which devastate the forests, while the Secretary of State has been asked to secure the services of a skilled entomologist, in order to conduct similar inquiries in connection with the agricultural and industrial staples of India. In the Civil Veterinary Department a highly skilled bacteriologist is studying the diseases which prove so fatal to agricultural stock in India. An agricultural expert has recently been added to the provincial staff of the united provinces. Finally, an Inspector-General of Agriculture has been appointed, whose function it is

to guide and correlate the agricultural inquiries carried on throughout India, whether by the Imperial or the Provincial Governments, and to act as an adviser to both in all matters pertaining to agriculture, while under him work, or will work, the agricultural chemist, the entomologist, and the cryptogamic botanist. Hence, the Government of India desire to provide as far as possible for that co-ordination of scientific inquiry which the development of the machinery of the various departments has rendered more than ever essential, and thus to focus the investigations of all the departments throughout the country. The Governor-General in Council has therefore arrived at the conclusion that a central authority ought to be established. The minute states correctly that "the various departments of science are not self-contained, but closely interlocked. Agriculture needs the aid of botany, botany the assistance of geology, geology of chemistry, and an endeavour should be made to combine the different departments in a system of mutual assistance," and the result will be "a closer co-operation for the purposes of effective research than has been possible in the past."

"The Governor-General in Council proposes, therefore, to constitute a Board of Scientific Advice, comprising the heads of the meteorological, geological, botanical, forest, survey, agricultural, and veterinary departments, together with such other scientific authorities as may from time to time be invited by the Government of India to serve upon it." The minute contains suggestions as to the respective positions of the members of the Board, and who will annually submit to Government a general programme of research, which will embody the proposals of departmental heads, in so far as its subjects are to be exclusively dealt with in one department, and its own proposals in cases where two or more departments are to co-operate. The Board will also submit to Government a brief review of the results obtained during the year in all lines of scientific investigation, based upon the annual departmental reports and upon any papers published by individuals. Generally the Board will act as an advisory committee to the Government of India and their scientific officers in respect of all questions of technical research which are dealt with in the department of revenue and agriculture. To enable the Board to carry out their important and interesting duties, it is suggested that its members should meet as a collective body at stated intervals for the purposes of discussion, probably two meetings in the course of the year—one to consider the work of the past year and proposals for the programme of the coming year in each department, the other to finally settle those programmes, subject to the approval of Government.

THE MOMBASA-VICTORIA (UGANDA) RAILWAY.

The Report of the progress of this important undertaking for the year 1901-02 has been presented to Parliament (Africa, No 4, 1902). The outdoor work of the survey of the British portion of Victoria-Nyanza was completed at the end of January, 1901. The administration of the two-mile

zone of unoccupied land was transferred to the Protectorate authorities on April 1, 1902. The heavy earthworks on both flanks of the great main escarpment cannot be completed before March, 1903. Bridges and culverts are being rapidly erected, and stations have been completed as far as Nakuro, 450th mile. Permanent workshops at Nairobi are completed and in full working order, and small workshops for steamers' repairs are in course of construction at the lake at Port Florence. A permanent three-wire telegraph line has been erected throughout the line. Two steamers, each of 600 tons displacement, designed and constructed in England, have been despatched, and are expected to be launched on the lake by this time. Probable total expenditure up to March 31 next is estimated at £5,287,337. The total earnings from passenger traffic has risen from Rs. 283,349 in 1899 to Rs. 441,052 in 1901, and the gross earnings in that year from all sources amounted to Rs. 6,041,552. The Report is accompanied by excellent maps.

FARES TO THE FAR EAST.

In the London *Standard* of October last we find the following: "The Tariff Committee of the Russian Minister of Finance has settled the rates for the journey through Russia. From any of the frontier stations on the west, to the station 'Manchuria' on the Russo-Manchurian frontier the fare, first-class, inclusive of the extra charge for 'express' trains, but not including charges for sleeping, bedding, etc., is to be 154 roubles, or about 12 guineas, and a guinea less for second-class. The Siberian express starts from Moscow, but alternative routes are available for through passengers as far as Moscow, which may be reached either via St. Petersburg or via Warsaw and Brest, the difference in the fare being in favour of the St. Petersburg route, which is about a couple of shillings cheaper, although slightly longer. The journey beyond 'Manchuria,' the frontier station, will be a matter for the Chinese Eastern Railway, which has now, according to a Russian official statement, 'been recognised as a foreign line.' Immediately after the appearance of this official recognition that the Chinese Eastern Railway was no longer merely a Russian railway, and coinciding with the Minister of Finance's trip through Manchuria, it was announced from Kharbin that the opening to traffic of the line through Manchuria was postponed, and would not, as previously announced, take place with the new year. Indeed, the telegraphic statement says that the opening has been put off 'for a year.'"

A COMMERCIAL BUREAU FOR INDIA.

We are pleased to note that the Government of India are taking steps to establish a Bureau of Commerce in India with a competent staff, with the view of affording every possible information with respect to the products of India, and the requirements of the people from home and foreign countries.

"THE INDIAN PHANTOM."

A reply by Mr. Wm. Digby, C.I.E., to the article with the above heading, which appeared in *The Asiatic Quarterly* for October last, is unavoidably held over to our next number. In his article Mr. Digby shows that, so far as his own criticism of the present economic condition of the Indian people is concerned, he had expressly taken into consideration the alleviations upon which Mr. Forrest lays great stress. Mr. Digby's avowed aim in his reply, however, is not so much to justify his own criticisms as to carry this great controversy into a region where essentials may be so defined as to provide common ground on which all parties may be at one.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

At a meeting held on December 13, at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair, it was decided to establish a society for the consideration of Central Asian subjects. While the Royal Geographical Society discuss such subjects, amongst many others, from their geographical and scientific aspect; and while the Royal Asiatic Society deal with them from an archæological or philological standpoint, there is at present no society devoted specially to the consideration of Central Asian subjects which allows of their discussion in all their bearings—political as well as economic or scientific. The Central Asian Society will supply this want; and it is believed that arrangements can be made with the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of their rooms in Albemarle Street for the purposes of meeting. These meetings will, it was decided, be held on the first Wednesday of every month in the afternoon; but the first meeting will take place on January 15, when Mr. H. F. B. Lynch will deliver a lecture (to be followed by a discussion) on the Persian Gulf. The annual subscription to the Society is £1, and each member is to be allowed to bring two friends to the meetings. Noblemen, Members of the House of Commons, and other men of influence, have become members of the Society. Mr. Edward Penton, Jun., 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., is acting as Secretary.

SCHOOL FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES IN CEYLON.

His Excellency Sir J. West Ridgeway, in his opening address to the Legislative Council of Ceylon, has intimated that "an attempt has been made to start a School of Oriental Studies as a means of inducing adults to study the literature of their own land. Two representative meetings have been held. The scheme has met with more favour than was expected, and it has been arranged to hold a preliminary examination. On the results of that examination will depend the question whether we proceed further." We hope the scheme will meet with much success.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS ; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, MCMII.

1. *Sports and Politics under an Eastern Sky*, by the Earl of RONALDSHAYE, F.R.G.S. This interesting volume of over 400 pages is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the pursuit of wild game in highest Asia. The intrepid author describes his route and experiences from his arrival in Bombay in February, 1899, and takes us through Rawal Pindi, Murree, Uri, Baramulla, to Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. A succession of chapters gives us accounts of his expeditions and stalks beyond Srinagar, notably at Garm Pani, Skardu, Kapaloo, Leh, Hanle, Chang Chenmo, and his return to Srinagar. The game consisted principally of ibex, snow-bear, *sharpo*, and *kyang*. The author quotes a very amusing and excellent description of the latter by Colonel Reginald Heber Percy, as follows: "The *kyang* was doubtless originally intended by Providence to fulfil some good purpose, but, having turned out a failure, was located in Tibet, where it was probably considered it would not be much in the way; or else it was designed to take the place of the insect life on the lower ranges, and act as a blister on the temper of the sportsman. The *sharpo*, limb of the devil as it is, has some good points in its favour—e.g., a graceful carriage, fine horns, and it is a desirable acquisition to the bag. The *kyang* has nothing to recommend or excuse it. It is an ugly, donkeyfied, fiddle-headed brute, with straight shoulders. In colour it is a mealy bay, with a dark-brown hog mane, dorsal stripe, and tail. Its head and ears are coarse and large, and its screeching bray is as unpleasant as its general appearance. Being absolutely worthless to shoot, it is always trading upon that fact; and, on the utterly false pretence that it is deeply interested in the actions and habits of human beings, particularly Europeans, is for ever thrusting itself into society where it is not welcome, thereby spoiling the sportsman's chance of a quiet interview with the animal of his choice. The one trait in his character that might be reckoned as a palliation by an unduly benevolent commentator is that it appears not to be selfish. As soon as it thinks that it has got a sportsman's temper well under way it will scour the country round for all its friends and relations, and assemble them to enjoy together the interesting spectacle of an angry man armed with a rifle, which he dare not discharge, for fear of alarming something worth firing at." After returning to and recuperating at Srinagar, another trip is undertaken, to hunt oorial and markhor, the route taken this time being down the Jelum, across the Raj Diangan, and the Borzil Pass, Boonji, Chilas, and back to India.

The second part of the book describes the author's journey from Simla to London by land, via Quetta, Nushki, Sistan, Meshed, and the Caspian. He speaks of the importance of Sistan and the advantage its possession would be to Russia in prosecuting her schemes for obtaining an outlet on the south. The only understanding, he says, that we can come to with

Russia, if the power and prestige of Great Britain are to be maintained in Asia, is that she has reached a point in Iran beyond which farther advance in search of territorial aggrandizement cannot be tolerated, and it rests with the only nation capable of doing so to see that the peril which is hanging like a sword of Damocles over the august majesty of the Shah is averted.

The volume is well got up and illustrated, and, above all, it contains a fine map of Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan, showing the author's itinerary.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS; LUZAC AND CO., LONDON.

2. *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum*, by ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Parts VII. and VIII. These are not, as might, perhaps, be supposed, parts in paper covers of a book in course of being issued in numbers, but substantial octavo volumes in cloth, containing 120 leaves each, printed on one side only, of transcriptions of the cuneiform tablets which form part of the Kouyunjik collections of the British Museum. There are neither transliterations nor translations, but, for students who can dispense with those, the series of which these volumes form Parts VII. and VIII. will be an invaluable mine of material. Part VII. contains the remaining letters belonging to scribes a part of whose correspondence has been published in Parts I. to V. Part VIII. gives such letters as are necessary to complete the correspondence of all the scribes taken up in Parts I. to VII., as well as the complete correspondence of several others, together with some from which the names of the scribes have been broken away. Part IX., which is to appear within a year, will be an index volume, giving lists of all the proper names, officials, divinities, countries, peoples, cities, etc., found in Parts I. to VIII., with references to their British Museum numbers and to the numbers which they bear in this series. Meanwhile each of the parts now issued is indexed separately under the scribes and Kouyunjik numbers, and Part VIII. has as a further index a list of the tablets published in Parts I. to VIII., arranged according to the names of the scribes, with reference to their British Museum registration numbers and to the numbers which they bear in this edition. The immense utility of this undertaking is too obvious to require any comment, and the author, who has already spent eleven years upon it, hopes to continue publishing the texts until the *Corpus Epistolarum* is completed. We sincerely hope he may be enabled to do so.—L.

C. J. CLAY AND SONS; LONDON, 1902.

3. *Studia Sinaitica*, No. XI. Another of this important series of Sinaitic studies has now been published. It is entitled "*Apocrypha Syriaca*," and consists of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and the *Transitus Mariae*, together with texts from the Septuagint, from the Qur'án, from the Peshitta version of the Scriptures, and from a Syriac Hymn in a Syro-Arabic palimpsest of the fifth and other centuries. The work is edited by

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and translated by her into English, and it contains an appendix consisting of Palestinian Syriac texts from the Taylor-Schechter collection.

The MS. from which the contents of this volume are taken was purchased by Mrs. Lewis at Suez in 1895, and was found to embody selections from the Fathers—from St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, Anba Theodosius, Mar Ephraim, Mar Jacob, Mar Isaac—and the martyrdoms of St. Eleuthesius and St. Theodorus. With these selections Mrs. Lewis proposes to deal in a subsequent volume; the present volume deals only with the underscript. The original MS. is a palimpsest throughout, and the upper part is in closely-written Arabic of the ninth or tenth century. The under portion of the script is for the most part in Syriac. Altogether the facsimiles here produced present quite a curious and interesting phenomenon.

Mrs. Lewis had spent many months in deciphering this MS., and some of it had already been printed, when it came to her knowledge that an interesting collection of Syriac texts on the same theme was being published by Messrs. Luzac and Co., under the editorship of Dr. Wallis Budge. In view of that fact, Mrs. Lewis was inclined to think that her own work would, after all, be superfluous. Her resolve to suppress her own work was, however, altered when she ascertained that Dr. Budge's texts were founded on a copy (made by a modern Syrian) of the MSS. of a much later period—the thirteenth century. She has aimed at securing that the distinguishing feature of the texts in the present work should be their *age*. The work does not, however, render Dr. Budge's enterprise superfluous, since his work supplies the material by which one may learn how the Gospel story developed in the fertile soil of pious minds in the early centuries of our era after the canon of Scripture had long been closed.

A very noteworthy feature of the MS. here translated by Mrs. Lewis is that the Arabic underscript above alluded to consists of some portions of the Qur'án of very ancient times—belonging, in fact, to the former part of the eighth or perhaps even to the latter half of the seventh century, a very early stage of Islámic history. Want of space prevents us from giving the steps of the process by which this curious discovery was verified by Mrs. Lewis. The details are given by her with scrupulous care in the introductory part of this work. With the single exception of one small leaf, the whole of the original of this MS. was written on vellum. This leaf was of paper, and was written on on both sides. It contains, written in Greek uncials, three verses from the Book of GENESIS (chap. xl., verses 3 and 4 on the one side and verse 7 on the other). These verses have, in point of import, no sort of connection with the Syriac portion of the find, and it is curious how the leaf should have got slipped in.

The whole of the MSS.—the *Protevangelium* and the *Departure of Mary*—are here rendered into English, and will form interesting reading to all such students of Biblical lore as are interested in the devotional literature of the Papal Church in the early centuries of its existence. There is a peculiar inconsequent import in the ideas—a curious ana-

chronism and inexactness in the statements of the documents—which, taken together with the rhapsodical nature of the style of composition, present quite a noteworthy resemblance between the contents of this work and those of the Qur'án. This remark applies especially to the portion relating to Mary. In the whole of the subject-matter, in fact, there is the well-known Qur'anic mixture of the canonical and the apocryphal.

As in the case of all the publications of this series from the Cambridge University Press, the execution is a model of how such things *ought* to be done. The printing—whether Syriac, Greek, English, or Arabic—is simply faultless; and the thanks of Shemitic scholars are due to this distinguished lady for placing within their reach in such manageable form these ancient and recondite documents.—B.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.; LONDON, 1902.

4. *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia*, by E. R. DURAND. This book, though, as stated in the preface, it gives no new information, or refers to political questions, yet is very pleasant and instructive reading. It contains some useful hints to travellers in that country, such as: "Presents, by the way, are very necessary in Persia. It is the custom of the country to exchange gifts, and no traveller should be without the means of sending something, of equal or greater value, in return for what is sent to him."

The organization of a camp in Persia is very much like one in India. A caravan becomes divided into three parties, which the Persians call *pishkhaneh* (fore-house), *vasatkhaneh* (middle-house), and *paskhaneh* (after or last house). Persian servants are at their best in camp, being born nomads, who love being away from town life. The climate, as one knows, is sunny and clear, and the air transparent, which greatly adds to the enjoyment of camp life.

Among the many interesting places that are visited is Susa, the ancient Shushan, meaning in old Persian "the pleasant place," an immense lonely mound, surrounded by the desert, which held the buried remains of the palace of Ahasuerus, and Daniel's tomb close by. The French have been given the exclusive right of excavating throughout the Persian dominions.

There is mention of the famous carpet factories at Sultanabad, notably of Messrs. Ziegler and Co., who supply Europe and America with carpets, and bales of which have to be carried hundreds of miles before they reach the sea. The author's march extended over twelve hundred miles, and lasted eighty days. The book is well got up in nice large print, interspersed with illustrations, with a map at the end.

HURST AND BLACKETT, LIMITED; 13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET, LONDON, 1902.

5. *From the Cape to Cairo. The First Traverse of Africa from South to North*, by EWART S. GROGAN and ARTHUR H. SHARP. This is a most interesting and important history of African exploration. The travellers,

starting from the Cape, made their way amid various vicissitudes of climate, swamps, friendly and hostile tribes, who never saw a white man before, and all manner of wild animals, affording, by the way, excellent sport and many exciting adventures. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, in a letter to Mr. Grogan, dated Government House, Bulawayo, September 7, 1900, said: "I must say I envy you, for you have done that which has been for centuries the ambition of every explorer—namely, to walk through Africa from south to north. The amusement of the whole thing is that a youth from Cambridge, during his vacation, should have succeeded in doing that which the ponderous explorers of the world have failed to accomplish. There is a distinct humour in the whole thing. It makes me the more certain that we shall complete the telegraph and railway, for surely I am not going to be beaten by the legs of a Cambridge undergraduate. Your success the more confirms one's belief." It is not a "wild cat" scheme. The object, continues Mr. Rhodes, "is to cut Africa through the centre, and the railway will pick up trade all along the route. The junctions to the east and west coasts which will occur in the future will be outlets for the traffic obtained along the route of the line as it passes through the centre of Africa. At any rate, up to Bulawayo, where I am now, it has been a paying undertaking, and I still think it will continue to be so as we advance into the far interior. We propose now to go on and cross the Zambesi just below the Victoria falls. I should like to have the spray of the water over the carriages." No doubt this magnificent scheme will yet be realized, and such works as Mr. Grogan's and Mr. Sharp's will encourage and advance the efforts of other enterprising spirits.

It is impossible for us to give an adequate indication of the value of this book. Those who are fond of the pursuit of "big game" or of adventure should procure the work for themselves. To the man of commerce it opens up a vast field for trade, and the statesman who has foreign affairs under his care should study carefully the information here afforded.

The author's description of the refugees driven out by the Baleka or Bareka, a tribe of cannibals from the Congo State, and their doings, ought to attract the attention of every European Power. He says (pp. 166-170): "The realization defies description, it haunts me in my dreams, at dinner it sits on my leg of mutton, it bubbles in my soup; in fine, Watonga would not eat the potatoes that grew in the same country, and went without food for forty-eight hours rather than do so. Ask your African friends what that means; negroes have not delicate stomachs. Loathsome, revolting, a hideous nightmare of horrors; and yet I must tell briefly what I saw for the edification of any disciple of the poor-dear-blackman-down-with-the-Maxim-Africa-for-the-African creed." The details (p. 169) are too ghastly for our pages. The author continues: "Every village had been burnt to the ground, and as I fled from the country I saw skeletons everywhere; and such postures, what tales of horror they told! Let this suffice. Worse than all this I saw, and that I have not exaggerated one jot or tittle may God bear me witness! I would not have entered into these revolting details but that I think it advisable that those who have not the chance of seeing for themselves should know what is going on every day in this

country. A beautiful yellow covers this spot on the map, with a fringe of red spots with flags attached, denoting (as the map informs you) stations of the Congo Free State. And yet a peaceful agricultural people can be subjected to horrors like this for months (*without anyone knowing*)! And why? Because the whole system is bunkum—the so-called partition of Africa. The stations marked do not exist, and read, mark, learn and inwardly digest this fact: I have to pay a license *to carry a gun* in the country." We hope the Aborigines Society will take up this matter with their usual vigour.

The volume abounds with numerous and pleasing illustrations, excellent maps, and a copious index.

LIBRAIRIE C. KLINCKSIECK ; 11, RUE DE LILLE, PARIS.

6. *Dix Inscriptions Chinoises de l'Asie Centrale d'après les Estampages de M. Ch. E. Bonin*, par M. ED. CHAVANNES. This indefatigable author, whose work is always of the most painstaking description, has now contributed another very important item to the sum of our knowledge of ancient High Asia. In the last two numbers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* mention was several times made of the Kuche wars in relation to early Buddhism, and in connection with the Chinese and Ephthalite struggles for influence in Little Bukharia during the second century. M. Bonin, who was from 1898 to 1900 in charge of a French scientific mission in those remote parts, has brought home a rubbing of, and M. Chavannes has now translated for us, a stone fragment, recently found in Kuche, dated A.D. 158, giving what one would suppose to be the name of a Chinese general. We cannot identify him from the Later Han history, but he appears to have really been a native prince of Kuche, bearing an honorary Chinese title. The date is provably accurate to a day. It so happens that this (130-160) is the precise period when, according to the official history, "Chinese influence in Turkestan began to wane, and the various States recommenced squabbling amongst themselves." Hitherto this particular inscription has been totally unknown, even to the Chinese specialists and collectors.

There are rubbings of two other stone inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal, one dated A.D. 137, and giving an account of the wars with the well-authenticated Hiung-nu prince, Hu-yen; the other dated A.D. 640, and narrating the well-substantiated military march, during the Turkish wars, of a Chinese general (often mentioned in standard history) against the region we now call Turfan. The existence of these two latter inscriptions has, however, long been known from other sources. What we have not discovered yet, and what it would be exceedingly interesting to discover, is some evidence of writing *not* Chinese—no matter what—anterior to the introduction of the various Aramæan, Indo-Scythian, and Hindoo alphabets—say anterior to A.D. 300.

We have not space here to allude to the other later but still valuable rubbings annotated, explained, and translated by Professor Chavannes;

but we are pleased to recommend his conscientious work to those persons who feel disposed to enter more deeply into "prehistoric" Asiatic history. The book contains over 100 pages, with numerous excellent plates.

E. H. PARKER.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, 1902.

7. *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable F. Max Müller*, in two volumes, edited by his wife. These letters, especially those to his mother, and to his fatherly friend, Chevalier Bunsen, are sublime in tone and style, and show that they emanate from a "great and good man." They cover a period of over sixty years, and give a perfect picture of his life—the early years of hard work and self-denial, his subsequent success, and his relations with the distinguished and learned men of his time. It is a matter of regret, however, that the plan, in the words of the preface, "to let Max Müller's letters and the testimony of his friends speak for themselves," and only to add such narrative as is necessary to connect the whole, has not been entirely followed. The editor has unnecessarily introduced criticisms of men and things which are not justifiable, especially when concerning those who are not alive to repel or controvert them. For instance, in the case of Professor Boehtlingk, of the St. Petersburg Academy, of H. H. Wilson, Professor of Sanscrit at Oxford, who did so much for Max Müller, and the latter's controversy with the late Professor Whitney, of Yale—all cases where the reader is unable to ascertain from the context the real facts of the case, and to form an independent judgment. In this connection we cannot refrain from making special reference to the very unfair and uncalled-for allegations regarding the Ninth Congress of Orientalists in 1891 and the late Dr. Leitner. To describe a body of 600 Orientalists and friends of Oriental studies in thirty-seven countries, under the presidency of the present Lord Chancellor of England, and receiving the countenance of members of the Royal Family, including H.M. the late Queen, as "malcontents," surely far exceeds the limits of, perhaps, natural partisanship. Readers of this *Review* hardly require to be informed that the attitude of Dr. Leitner did not proceed from personal hostility towards Professor Max Müller or anyone else. Dr. Leitner's long and distinguished career both in the service of the British Government, and as an unselfish and self-sacrificing promoter of Oriental research, is too well known to require vindication here. All that it is, perhaps, necessary to say with reference to the Oriental Congress of 1891 is that Dr. Leitner's object and that of his supporters was solely to vindicate and maintain the principles of the original constitution of these Congresses as laid down in Paris in 1873, and that the principles contended for ultimately prevailed.

8. *The Discovery and Decipherment of the Trilingual Cuneiform Inscriptions*, by ARTHUR JOHN BOOTH, M.A. (8vo., with a plan). This is a title which hardly does justice to the author or to his book, for the latter is a very interesting, though critical and exhaustive account, not only of the

arduous work of Major Rawlinson (Sir H. Rawlinson, Bart., G.C.B.) in copying and translating the trilingual inscriptions of Behistūn, but of all those who preceded and have followed him to the present time, and of their respective work, and also of the ruins of Persepolis, Susa, Naksh-i-Rustam, and Hamadan. No novel that has been or can be written will ever surpass in interest and in the surprises prepared for its readers the true history of the resurrection of the ancient kings of the East, their priest-hoods, courts, armies, and peoples, by those modern discoveries of which the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions is one of the greatest; and although the earlier travellers and explorers made laughable blunders, and their work is now for the most part useless, or worse, it is impossible, when the difficulties they had to face are taken into consideration, not to feel that they did at least as well as we should have done under the circumstances, and that our gratitude is due to them for their efforts. In addition to 418 pages of matter, this book contains three tables showing respectively: (1) The values assigned by various writers to the letters of the old Persian alphabet; (2) the true values of those letters, and the author and date of their decipherment; (3) the values given to each sign of the Susian (Median) syllabary by different authors, with their correct values. This addition sufficiently shows the spirit of thoroughness in which Mr. Booth has carried out his self-imposed task. The few trilingual and quadrilingual inscriptions of the Persian period which have been found in Egypt have not escaped his notice, and his work appears, in fact, to be in every way complete.—L.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1902.

9. *The Seven Tablets of Creation; or, The Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind.* Edited by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A. (Luzac Semitic Series, vols. xii. to xiii.). Two vols., 8vo. It is now more than a quarter of a century since Mr. George Smith announced his discovery of the clay tablets in the British Museum, containing the Assyrian Legends of the Creation. Since that time a great literature has grown up round these tablets, and the contents of most of them, especially those containing close parallels to the Hebrew story of creation, are to be found in almost every Biblical commentary and text-book. It would seem, therefore, that such a work as Mr. King's was nothing new, or of especial necessity. Since the year 1875, when these now famous tablets were first discovered, many more tablets and editions of these classical texts have been discovered; and the result is that in the work now issued we have a nearly complete text of the famous poem of Creation with which the Seven Tablets were inscribed, and which consisted of about one thousand lines. The recovery and editing of such an ancient classic enables us to study it with all the critical study of a Greek or Hebrew manuscript, and for the first time to clearly ascertain the nature, composition, and date of origin of so important a work. This is not all that is to be obtained from the inscriptions which Mr. King has edited in this work. We have used the word "classic" as

applied to this poem, a word which would have been deemed inappropriate a few years ago outside of Greek or Latin literature, applied to a work the first editions of which were compiled more than a thousand years before the age of Homer. Yet the justification for the word is amply afforded by the great mass of commentative and critical literature, as well as educational treatises connected with this epic, which Mr. King has discovered among the tablets in the British Museum. These important fragments show the existence in Babylonia of a system of higher education, totally unexpected, and covering a period of time hitherto unsuspected. The question of date of origin of this poem need not be dealt with at length, but for comparative purposes it must be briefly referred to. The poem in its classic form, as found in the library at Nineveh 650 B.C., is essentially a product of the scribe school of Babylon, the college of which was the temple of Nebo at Borsippa. This school was founded by the First Dynasty of Babylon 2300 B.C., a line of Kings, probably of Arabian origin, which lasted for about three centuries, and were the true founders of the great civilization of the Babylonian empire. These Kings were great patrons of literature, and during this period most of the great classics were compiled. That is, most of the local legends of the older local schools such as Erech, Nippur, Eridu, and other cities, were collected together and woven into national poems. Two great collections are now fairly complete—the great cycle of the stories of Gilgames or Nimrod, the hero of Erech, which afford striking similarities to the labours of Heracles, and the Creation Epic, the older substratum of which is the product of the school of the “holy city of Eridu”—the sacred city of the all-wise god Ea. Ample proof has been afforded by recent discoveries at Sippara, Borsippa, and Nippur that editions of those epics were current prior to 2300 B.C. Having fixed approximately the date of origin, we now turn to the important texts for the first time published by Mr. King. The Assyrian Tablets date about 650 B.C., but numbers of fragments have been discovered of the date of the new Babylonian empire 600 to 538 B.C.; while during the Persian empire there was an immense revival of learning, a totally unexpected revelation, especially during the age of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, while the astrological tablets now published show that the poem must have been known and accessible down to within a century of the Christian era. This is an immense period over which to be able to trace the literary history of a poem.

The text was certainly treated as a classic religious text prior to 700 B.C.; for in the library at Nineveh were found extracts, with annotations on words, synonyms, etc., which had been copied from older tablets, and during the later periods these became still more numerous and elaborate. Still more important, as a proof positive of their educational use, are what are known as “practice tablets.” These curious works are small unbaked clay tablets, on which the students have written out sometimes two or three times, extracts from the poems, which have been corrected by the master, and sometimes notes and glosses are added. These tablets all come from the library at Borsippa. Now, the importance of this discovery is very great, as bearing on Biblical studies. Here we have ample proof that long prior

to, during, and long after the period of the Jewish captivity, there was in Borsippa, a city that became an important centre of Talmudic teaching, a learned and flourishing school of Babylonian theology and scribal learning in the midst of the most learned of the Hebrew nation. Was it any wonder, then, that Hebrew post-captivity theology was impregnated with Chaldean teaching? There is no need for us, in this article, to deal with the well-known Creation Tablets, but Mr. King has published a number of inscriptions that throw a new light upon the question of the relation between the Hebrew and Babylonian cosmogonic literatures, and which should at least lead to a truce between the rival schools of criticism. We have, as the merest tyro in Pentateuch literature knows, two versions in the early chapters of Genesis of the Creation--the first known as the Elohistic (Gen. i.-ii. 3), the other the Yahvistic (ii. 4-10).

The former is distinctly the more recent and of priestly origin, as the whole is arranged to culminate in the sanctity of the Sabbath. This version presents but little agreement with the Babylonian version, which has no creative week, and no trace of the Sabbath. In the Babylonian version man is created for the "worship of the gods," and the small fragment found by Mr. King is very important. Here Merodach is the creator, and we read: "My blood will I take, and bone will I fashion. I will make man who shall inhabit the earth, that the service of the gods may be established, and that their shrines may be built." Here we have an agreement with Berossus, and to some extent with the Elohist, for the creation by blood established a sonship with the Creator, and the service of the gods would entail a dominion over nature for sacrificial purposes. The Yahvist's account, the older undoubtedly, is more closely Babylonian. Here the Creator is the patron of agriculture, and man is to till the ground. This agrees with the older Babylonian legends, for Ea, the lord of Eridu, was the patron of agriculture, and his titles were usurped later by Merodach. The important ancient tablet, the product of the school of Eridu, published by Mr. King (p. 131), proves this most clearly. The titles are "Bestower of planting, Founder of sowing, Creator of grain and plants, who caused every green herb to spring up." So, also, in these older legends man is created out of the clay of the ground. It must be also remembered that Ea was the god of the holy garden in which the sacred tree grew, so the resemblance is even more striking.

This publication of new matter shows clearly that the Yahvist account is manifestly pre-captivity in origin, and presents striking similarities to the older and pre-epic literature of Chaldea. The close association between the land of Canaan and the land of Chaldea, from at least 2200 B.C., is proved by the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, which show that throughout Syria there were scribes, even in small towns, able to use the cuneiform writing. Surely their knowledge was not confined to commerce and diplomacy alone; and it is to this Canaanite-Babylonian substratum that we must look for the first editions of the Hebrew Genesis. During the Captivity these traditions underwent a rigid sub-editing, much on the lines that the Babylonian local traditions had undergone centuries before. In conclusion, we must say that all students, either Biblical critics or Assyriologists, must be grateful to

Mr. King, not only for the most perfect edition of this important epic, but for the ample proof of an ancient and learned school of theological critics in Babylonian colleges centuries before the Christian era.—W. ST. C. B.

10. *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmīzd the Persian, and Rabban Bar-Idtā*, by DR. WALLIS BUDGE. This is the latest of the long series of erudite works with which this distinguished author has favoured us. The work is not large, containing but little over 200 pages. It consists only of the Syriac text of each of the two "histories" (or "lives") named in the title. The two productions, now for the first time published by an English editor, were copied from the original MSS. a few years ago, the owner of these MSS. declining to part with them. They are believed to date from the twelfth or the thirteenth century of the Christian era, the second MS. named in the title being the earlier in point of time, while the former is the more interesting of the two. The purpose of these MSS. (of which, by the way, the one is in prose and the other in metre) is to describe the lives of two founders of great monasteries which became centres for the teaching of Doctrine and Asceticism at a critical period in the history of the Nestorian Church. The works are more or less mystical in their nature, so that the things here given as historical facts must, as in the case of all such documents, be received with circumspection. The second of these "Histories" derives much of its interest from its philological nature, the original writer having apparently had in view the display of his skill in the manipulation of Syriac words and the fertility of his imagination in the invention of word-forms, rather than the recording of historical facts. The present volume is, however, entirely occupied with the text of the original; the translation of it into English will appear in a companion volume which will be published in due course. The present volume has prefixed to it a table of contents, chapter by chapter, in English; and from this table a very good idea may be formed of the style and import of the subject-matter of these curious documents. Those of our readers who are acquainted with Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series will understand us when we say that in point of execution and finish this work is deserving of nothing but praise.—B.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1902.

11. *Across Coveted Lands; or, A Journey from Flushing (Holland) to Calcutta, Overland*, by A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR, with 175 illustrations, diagrams, plans, and maps, by the author. In two volumes. The author disposes of his journey from London to Persia, viâ Russia and the Caspian Sea, in three chapters; the rest of the two volumes are devoted to his experiences in Persia, and a description of its position and prospects to-day. The route taken was through Teheran, Kum, Isfahan, Yezd, Kerman, Naiband, Birjand, Sher-i-Nasrya (Shahr-i-Nāserieh), the chief town of Persian Sistan, and by the new route through Baluchistan to Quetta. Cordially welcomed on his arrival in Teheran, and invited to partake of the well-known hospitality of the British Minister, Sir Arthur Hardinge, in the summer quarters of the Legation near the mountains, he declined, in

order to remain in town and be in touch with the inhabitants, and thus form an unbiassed opinion of the state of affairs. The first person of rank he interviewed was the Miftah-es-Saltaneh (after the Mushir-ed-dowleh, the highest Minister in the Foreign Office). This personage, he says, "although he had never been out of Persia, spoke French with a most perfect accent, as fluently as a Frenchman, . . . and it was remarkable how well informed he was on matters not concerning his country."

He afterwards paid a visit to the Foreign Minister, and this is what he says of him: "I was rather impressed by the remarkable facility with which he could switch on extreme courteousness and severity, kindness and contempt. His face was at no time, mind you, subjected to very marked exaggerated changes or grimaces, such as those by which we generally expect emotions to show themselves among ourselves, but the changes in his expression, though slight, were quite distinct, and so expressive that there was no mistake as to their meaning. A soft look of compassion, a hard glance of offended dignity, the veiled eyes deeply absorbed in reflection, the sudden sparkle in them at news of success, were plainly visible on his features as a clerk approached him bringing correspondence, or asking his opinion, or reporting on one matter or another." He then met the Prime Minister, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Public Works. In speaking of them he says: "Although talent is not lacking in Persia among statesmen, the country itself, as it is to-day, does not give these men an opportunity of shining as brightly as they might. The whole country is in such a decayed condition that it needs a thorough overhauling. Then only it might be converted into quite a formidable country. It possesses all the necessary requirements to be a first-class nation. Talent in exuberance, physical strength, a convenient geographical position, a good climate, considerable mineral and some agricultural resources, are all to be found in Persia. All that is wanted at present is the development of the country on a solid, reliable basis, instead of the insecure, unsteady intrigues upon which business, whether political or commercial, is unfortunately carried on in the present state of affairs. . . . It is grit that is at present lacking. . . . The country has a wavering policy that is extremely injurious to her interests." A good description is given of the army. In a chapter entitled "Diffidence" the author describes the Persian of to-day. "The main cause of the present anæmic state of business is owing to his misapprehension that hard cash is synonymous with wealth, and he does not differentiate between treasure savings and savings transformed into capital. There are 'enormous accumulations of wealth' lying idle, but there is no capital in the true meaning of the word. Huge sums in hard cash, in jewellery, in bars of gold and silver, have been hidden for centuries in dark cellars, and for any good they are to the country and commerce at large might as well not exist at all. No honest ways of employing his wealth in a business-like and safe manner are open to the rich Persian under the present public maladministration, nor have the foreign speculations in the country offered sufficient examples of success to induce natives to embark upon them again. [Many of us may remember the fate of the enterprises such as the "Sugar Refinery," "Glass

Factory," "Gas Company," "Mining Rights' Road."] The influence of the mullas is used to oppose reform and improvement." Particulars are given of the mint, currency, and the banks of Persia, followed by chapter xvi. about "Russia on the brain," and "the apprehended invasion of India." Mr. Landor advocates strongly an amicable understanding with Russia not only regarding Persia, but including China, Manchuria, and Korea as well. He says: "A frank and fair adjustment of Russian and British interests in these countries could be effected without serious difficulty, mutual concessions could advantageously be granted, and mutual advice and friendly support would lead to remarkably prosperous results for both countries." The author does not leave the capital before having an audience of the Shah, and visiting his palaces and treasures, of which he gives a graphic account. His description of each town and village passed or halted at, especially his stay at Isfahan and account of that province, will be found very interesting, as also his experiences of Sistan and its possibilities, and the new route from thence to Quetta.

GEORGE NEWNES, LIMITED; LONDON, 1902.

12. *Through Hidden Shensi*, by FRANCIS H. NICHOLS. Mr. Nichols does not tell us who and what he is, but he writes with such an American bias that it is very easy to guess his nationality. He apologizes for the absence "both of a militant and a missionary spirit"; yet it is easy to see from his spelling that he has been influenced in sinological matters by the China Inland Mission books, and from his somewhat immoderate views on our British opium responsibility that his spirit is, in some respects, both militant and missionary, whatever his flesh and his will may be. The opium "wreck" he gives us on page 67 is the sturdiest beggar one could wish to see—a picture of health and rude happiness. There is nothing "hidden" about his route, every yard of which has been repeatedly traversed before; parts by Richthofen, parts by Szécheny, parts by less notorious explorers, and parts by numerous Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries and other adventurous personalities. He does not require to inform us, nor does he inform us, that he is totally ignorant of Chinese history, Chinese polity, Chinese language, and Chinese social aspirations; in many parts what he tells us is but a grotesque travesty of the "hidden" truth. Yet, for all that, there is a certain satisfaction in skimming through the untutored, spontaneous observations of an inexperienced, impressionable man, who has actually been over the ground, and has shared the sweets and the bitters of genuine Chinese travel, always in company with the unsophisticated natives. There is a certain audacious freshness and originality in his remarks, such as are almost invariably absent from the more cautious and pretentious generalizations of the "twenty years in the country and know the language" men. For these reasons extenuating circumstances are hereby granted to the author. At the very outset Mr. Nichols (end of illustrations list) presents us, by way of art, with the word "old age" written upside down, in manifest and happy ignorance of the fact that it is written by the same man who tossed off the com-

panion word "happiness" given on page 267. For persons who do not understand Chinese, it is curious to read about "fonging the fishes," "san pans piled up with pookas," "shen magistrates," "hanchaiti," "wenshaos," "shi jangs," and so on. Even for those who do speak Northern Chinese, it is sometimes hard enough to guess what he is driving at; but the unexplained verb "to fong," without even italics, is altogether too *too*. It means "to let go alive." The "Taotai of Peking" is quite an imaginary and fictitious personage. A different photograph of Prince Ching (Mr. Nichols', said by Prince Ching to be the "only one ever taken") was published in the London press over a year ago. "Commissioner Li" should be Lin of that ilk; and so on *ad libitum*. However, the pictures and portraits are admirable. That of "Rung Lu" (Junglu) on horseback really does seem to be a novelty; and there is a cheery optimism even about Chinese sausages, or meat-balls, made of human flesh, which shows that Mr. Nichols has a sympathetic temperament, capable of putting the most smiling face on, and bringing out the best qualities from, the grimmest and most gruesome surroundings. The index is very good, and the type decidedly comfortable to the eye. As a mere traveller's yarn the narrative is vivid and interesting; as a book of accurate information it does not fall within the purview of serious criticism.—E. H. PARKER.

NORTH CHINA HERALD OFFICE; SHANGHAI.

13. *The East of Asia: A Non-Political Illustrated Quarterly*. This high-class journal has the merit of originality, which should be the means of establishing its claims on the attention of the reading public. It is quite time that the classic gems of Oriental literature should be compressed into a handy form, within the reach of most of us. This luxury has long been confined to linguists, who have placed it beyond the possibility of the ordinary reader by reason of the heavy outlay necessary to secure their translated works. Papers dealing with ancient manners and customs, translations from the books of native authors, as well as subjects of such comparatively recent interest as Wei-hai-wei, Port Arthur, Siam, and Korea, are treated and discussed in a non-political spirit. These papers are enhanced with a number of rare coloured photographic illustrations, which bring vividly into prominence stately and substantial buildings, as well as other attractive objects.

Eastern sages, ruminating in the past amid stagnant surroundings and in the unchanging routine of monotonous lives, laboriously evolving precious maxims are to be remembered with profit. For ages these Orientals have been nurtured on the sayings of the moralists, and these maxims have had much the same beneficial effect on the minds of the people as the stringent kernel that flavours the fruit. Much in this journal reminds us that those fairy tales of the East, in which it is stated that "pearls" dropped from the lips of the unattractive, may have a spice of truth in them, as well as all other folk-lore stories. A great change is coming over the world; we must not allow ourselves to rest too long utterly indifferent to what is going on in a silent but effectual manner in these great far-away empires under discus-

sion. True, a certain section of readers are seriously seeking knowledge. *The East of Asia* should flourish and prove acceptable if its merits can be sustained and its reading kept up to its present excellent standard.

Though suggestive of the contents, the cover of future issues might be better ornamented with temple gateway, pagoda, or some more pleasing design.—S.

C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LIMITED; LONDON, 1902.

14. *The Eldorado of the Ancients*, by Dr. CARL PETERS, author of "New Light on Dark Africa," "King Solomon's Golden Ophir," "The German East African Protectorate," etc., with two maps and ninety-seven illustrations from original drawings by Tennyson Cole, and from photographs. The author, who was the actual founder of German East Africa, has endeavoured to show—and we think he has succeeded—that the most ancient nations of history obtained their gold, ivory, and other precious goods from South Africa. He asserts that "three to four thousand years ago South Africa was in regular communication with the Erythrean and Mediterranean world, and formed part of the great circle of Punic enterprises which reached from the Baltic and the Scilly Islands to the Canaries, from Malacca to Bulawayo, from Madagascar to Corsica, and which included at the same time the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic."

An account is given in the first chapter of his "call to Ophir," which was brought about by his coming across, by chance, in the library of a friend, an historical atlas entitled, "Atlas Historique, ou Nouvelle Introduction à l'Histoire, à la Chronologie, et à la Géographie Ancienne et Moderne." This work, in seven volumes, was published at Amsterdam between the years 1705 and 1709. In the sixth volume the author found a map of Africa, not only with the Congo River and the Zambesi noted upon it with some accuracy, but also a remarkably complete demarcation of the Portuguese settlements in Central and Southern Africa, and, above all, of the gold markets and mines of the Zambesi. He then (1896) began to occupy himself seriously with the Ophir problem, but it was not till 1899 that he was able to leave for the Zambesi. In January of that year he took charge of an expedition founded by himself and a few friends, called the "Dr. Carl Peters' Estates and Exploration Company," set out from London, and reached the port of Chinde, on the Chinde River, at the end of March. The Zambesi, he says, was in the remotest times a highroad into the interior, and that the Rapta of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* was probably our Quilimane, on the most northern estuary of the Zambesi. Proceeding up the Chinde and into the Zambesi by steamer, he quits the steamer at Tambara, near the entrance to the Lupata Gorge. He there began his march into the interior, and reached the valley of Inja-ka-Fura, where he discovered some ancient gold-mines and the *débris* of vast old Cyclopean walls, containing curiously formed stones, which he regarded as betylæ, and which were objects of religious worship in the oldest Semitic cults. The name "Fura" appears to be a corruption of the word *Afur*, or *Aufur*, by which Arabian traders called the mountain. *Afir* is, according

to Arabists, the South Arabian form of the Hebrew word Ophir. The Romans learnt to know the name Afir from the Carthaginians, and thus they formed the adjective Africus from it, and the names Terra Africa and Africa.

Much space is devoted to the account of Mr. Peters' journey and exploitations in Makalangaland, Macombeland, Manicaland, etc., and description and present state of Umtali and its neighbourhood, and also of the mining headquarters of Macequeçe. Manicaland is full of relics of the ancient Semitic era.

The chapter entitled "By Ox-waggon on the Sabi" is good reading, and contains the following passage: "The English Government pampers the blacks to such an extent as to make the country impossible for the whites. The black man, under the Union Jack, becomes lazy, arrogant, and boorish. Exeter Hall is ruining Africa. . . . I would like to repeat again, that the Boer laws on this matter strike me as exemplary. In the Transvaal, at the end of the year, every black had to show a 'ticket,' proving that he had worked six months at a European's, in default of which he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and the necessary beatings. A very good recipe is also the demand of a hut-tax from every nigger over the age of sixteen, and one of not less than £5, so that they are forced to work. Otherwise we shall soon be responsible for a lot of lazy *canaille* from Algoa Bay to the great Syrtis, who will force Europe to give up the opening of Africa unless the colonists follow the example of the Tasmanian pioneers, and simply exterminate the useless rabble." Then comes a chapter on "Big Game," followed by one on "The Gold of Ophir," wherein is quoted Kings ix. 26-28, and x. 10, 11, and the author remarks that "it stands to reason that an Eldorado, from which a single expedition lasting three years returned to Jerusalem with a mass of gold weighing 420 talents (of 114 lbs. troy), must be indicated to-day by unassailable archæological remains. One must reflect that this amount represents a value of over £1,750,000. And in 1 Chron. xxiv. 4 we even read that King David had brought together 3,000 talents of gold from Ophir, representing a value of £12,225,000." This interesting volume concludes with chapters on the Erythrean world before the time of Solomon, the connection with ancient Egypt, the future of ancient Ophir, the advance of the white race, and on mines, railways, and harbours.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Census of India, 1901. Vols. IX., IXA, IXB. (Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1902.) By R. E. ENTHOVEN, of the Indian Civil Service, in charge of census operations. Part I. of these important and elaborate volumes contains an exhaustive introduction in reference to the census of 1901 compared to other censuses, famine, plague, system of enumeration, notable changes, and a vast number of other details. Part II. contains *Imperial* tables, and Part III. *Provincial* tables. The volumes are accompanied with excellent maps, diagrams, and tables, and constitute a storehouse of important and useful information on every department of the religious and social condition of the population, and reflect the utmost credit on the compiler and editor.

List of Europeans and others in the English Factories in Bengal, June, 1756. Mr. S. Charles Hill, B.A., B.Sc., officer in charge of the records of the Government of India, has prepared an important list of the Europeans who took part in the most prominent incidents in the history of the British in Bengal. Mr. Hill has drawn up this list from all the sources to which he has access; but a full history of those times has yet to be written, and he thinks that many of the descendants of those who took part at this important period in establishing British rule in India may have private letters or documents which may be of service to him; hence he has prepared this preliminary list. Communications may be sent to him, care of Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 45, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

Vicissitudes of Fort St. George, by DAVID LEIGHTON (A. J. Combridge and Co., Madras and Bombay). A very concise and well-written history of this particular portion of the British possessions in India, from the first half of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth. The names and dates of the various Governors, their characters and peculiarities, are given. The work is illustrated by plans, position, and changes of the fort from what was called Day's Fort down to 1730, 1746, 1759, and 1798.

England, India, and Afghanistan: an Essay upon the Relations, Past and Future, between Afghanistan and the British Empire in India. The Le Bas Prize Essay, 1902. By FRANK NOYCE, B.A., Scholar of St. Catharine's College, London (C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane, London, 1902). A short, clear, and concise history, drawn from the writings of prominent historians and Blue-Books, with respect to the early history of the country and the Afghan wars. He concludes his able essay by saying: "It is the duty of British and Indian statesmen of the future to consolidate and increase in every possible way the good understanding between Great Britain in India and Afghanistan. The time may come when Afghanistan may share the fate of many another State, and may be blotted off the map of Asia. Until then it should be Great Britain's aim to follow out unhesitatingly the policy which is being

so ably pursued at present, and which is most consistent with British honour and with British interests—that of a strong, united, and friendly Afghanistan.”

Address of the President, Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, at the Twelfth Provincial Conference, Sholapur, October 25, 1902. This able address embraces such topics as the Coronation of the King, true Imperialism, the Delhi Durbar, Judicial Element in the Constitution of the Bombay Government, the Mofussil Judicial Administration, the Sadar Court in Sindh, the Separation of the Executive and Judicial Functions, the Gujarat Revenue Inquiry, and the Universities Commission. The President concludes: “True statesmanship lies not in repelling the educated classes by distrust, derision, and abuse, but to strengthen and still farther secure their attachment by confidence and sympathy.”

We have received from Mr. Francis Edwards the first three numbers of his Oriental Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Maps, Views, etc., relating to Asiatic countries, and particularly to India. These catalogues, which contain nearly 3,500 entries, are valuable as a contribution to Oriental bibliography, and can be obtained gratis on application at 83, High Street, Marylebone, London, W.

Tableaux des titres et des appellations de l'Empereur, des membres de sa famille et des Mandarins. Extraits du No. 21 des variétés sinologiques : Mélanges sur l'administration (in Latin). By LE J. PIERRE HOANG, du clergé de Nankin. Translated into French by Père Bussy, S.J., Shanghai. (Chang-hai, Imprimerie de la Mission catholique orphelinat de T'ou-sè-wè, 1902.) An admirable guide to the mysteries of Chinese official life, which we may notice in a future number.—E. H. P.

Tables for converting American Dollars into English Pounds (the Fairbanks Company, 78 to 80, City Road, London, E.C.). These tables also embrace French metrical and British measures. They will be found very useful and convenient for reference.

Kamala's Letters to her Husband (Madras English Publishing House, Mylapore, 1902). A series of assumed letters from a Hindu lady to her husband, exhibiting considerable skill and ingenuity, with reference chiefly to infant marriage and perpetual widowhood.

The Encyclopædic Dictionary (Cassell and Co., Limited, London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne). A new edition, revised and enlarged, to be issued in sixpenny weekly parts. It will include a supplementary volume and seventy-six coloured plates expressly prepared for this edition. The first part, now before us, contains a beautifully coloured plate of the Acalephæ and Anemones. The illustrations are intended, not so much for the purpose of embellishment as to impart a conception of the objects represented clearer than any mere verbal definition could afford. The pronunciation, derivation, and history of words are indicated in excellent type, by diacritical marks, signs, and otherwise.

The Food of the People of India. By WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E., F.S.S. (London: A. Bonner, 1 and 2, Took's Court, Cursitor Street, E.C., 1902).

The object is to prove the permanently famine-stricken condition of India. Apart from tabular statements it consists of a cross-examination of Mr. Theodore Morison, who recently read a paper before the British Association on the "Instability of Prices in India before 1861."

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications of George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, October, November, December;—*The Sunday Strand*, October, November, December;—*The Strand Magazine*, October, November, December;—*The Citizen's Atlas*, parts 8-12;—*The Wide World Magazine*, October, November, December;—*Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii, part 3: Hindi, Panjabi, Pushtu, and Sindhi books, by J. F. Blumhardt, M.A. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902);—*Report on Archaeological Work in Burma for the Year 1901-02* (Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing, Burma);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Eusèbe Vassel (Tunis: au Secrétariat Général de l'Institut);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*Sphinx*, revue critique, embrassant le domaine entier de l'Egyptologie, par Karl Piehl (Upsala: C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E.);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Kayastha Samachar*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1902).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone the notice of the following works: *Genuinæ relationes inter sedem apostolicam et Syriorum orientalium seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam nunc majori ex parte primum editæ historicisque adnotationibus illustratæ*. Cura et studio R.mi Abbatis Samuelis Giamil, ecclesiæ Babylonensis archidiaconi et patriarchæ Chaldaeorum apud Sanctam Sedem procuratoris generalis (Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Co., MCMII.);—*Chaldean Astrology up to Date: How to cast the Horoscope and read the Future in the Stars*, by George Wilde, with preface, valuable notes, and comments by A. G. Trent (London: E. Marsh-Stiles, 12, St. Stephen's Mansions, Westminster, and the Occult Book Company, Halifax, Yorkshire, 1901);—*Mahābhārata-Studien. Abhandlungen zur indischen Literatur und Culturkunde II. Die Sāṃkhya-philosophie als Naturlehre und Erlösungslehre*. Nach dem Mahābhārata von Joseph Dahlmann, s.j. (Berlin: Verlag von Felix L. Dames, 1902);—*East of the Barrier, or Sidelights on the Manchuria Mission*, by the Rev. J. Miller Graham, Missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, Moukden, Manchuria (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1902);—*Progressive Exercises in the Chinese Written Language*, by T. L. Bullock, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1902);—*In Pursuit of the "Mad" Mullah: Service and Sport in the Somali Protectorate*, by Captain Malcolm McNeill, D.S.O., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with a chapter by Lieutenant A. C. H. Dixon, West India Regiment; and *Among Swamps and Giants in Equatorial Africa: an Account of Surveys and Adventures in the Southern Sudan and British East Africa*, by Major H. H. Austin, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., etc. (London: C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., Henrietta Street, 1902);—*India and its Problems*, by William Samuel Lilly, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, etc.; and *Toscanelli and Columbus: the Letter and Chart of Toscanelli on the Route to the Indies by Way of the West, sent in 1474 to the Portuguese Fernam Martius, and later on to Christopher Columbus*, by Henry Vignaud, First Secretary U.S. Embassy at Paris, etc. (London: Sands and Co., 12, Burleigh Street, Strand, 1902);—*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., of the Bengal Educational Service, etc., edited by the Hon. W. W. Rockhill (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1902);—*Travels in North and Central China*, by John Grant Birch, illustrated (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 13, Great Marlborough Street, 1902);—*Representative Indians*, by G. Paramaswaran Pillai, B.A., Madras University, etc. (London: W. Thacker and Co., 2, Creed Lane, E.C.; Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1902);—*The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, by G. F.-H. Berkeley, with maps (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 2, Whitehall Gardens, 1902);—*The Arab Conquest of Egypt, and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, by Alfred J. Butler, D.LITT., F.S.A., etc. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1902);—*The Forests of Upper India and their Inhabitants*, by Thomas W. Webber, late Forest Surveyor for the North-West Provinces, etc., with maps (London: Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office, 1902);—*The Great Co-operation*, by Colonel Dowden, R.E. (retired) (Lucknow: Methodist Publish-

ing House, 1901);—*Handbook of the Federated Malay States*, compiled by H. Conway Belfield, British Resident of Selangor (London: Edward Stanford, 12-14, Long Acre, W.C.);—*Flowers of Song from many Lands*; being short poems and detached verses gathered from various languages, and rendered into English by Frederic Rowland Marvin (Pafraets Book Company, Troy, New York);—*Who's Who*, 1903, an annual biographical dictionary; and *The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1903, edited by Emily Janes (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903);—*The Bilatera Cypher of Francis Bacon*; deciphered by Elizabeth Wells Gallup (London: Gay and Bird, 22, Bedford Street; and Howard Publishing Co., Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Lord Curzon gave a farewell dinner to Sir A. Power Palmer, the retiring Commander-in-Chief, on October 16 last, and spoke highly of his services in the work of internal military reform.

The Government has agreed to allot to the Royal Asiatic Society a grant of £1,000 per annum, for a period of five years, in furtherance of the original Asiatic research it undertakes.

The Government has made a donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Pasteur Institute of India at Kasauli. Sir Charles Rivaz has also sanctioned a donation of Rs. 5,000 for 1902-03, to be renewed annually, and a donation of Rs. 5,000, in all Rs. 10,000 for 1902-03, in aid of the Institute. The Government of Burma has promised an annual contribution of Rs. 1,500 for five years, and a donation of Rs. 1,000. The Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and Assam have made an annual grant of Rs. 500 each. The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oude have also granted Rs. 600. These grants are considered quite inadequate, looking at the number of persons coming to the Institute from the last-named provinces. The total number of patients treated last year was 543 ; of these 215 were Europeans, against 321 in the preceding year.

The Irrigation Commission, which left Simla for Bengal last October, sat at Bankipur, Motihari, Darbhanga, Purulia, Calcutta, and Cuttack.

His Majesty has appointed the Right Hon. Sir Antony Patrick MacDonnell, G.C.S.I., and Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I., to be members of the Council of India, in succession to the Right Hon. Sir Alfred C. Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., and Sir James B. Peile, K.C.S.I., whose term of office has expired. Mr. Richmond T. W. Ritchie, C.B., has been appointed to be Secretary in the Political Department of the India Office in succession to Sir W. Lee-Warner.

In reply to a deputation at the House of Commons in November last, in reference to the grievances of British Indian subjects in South Africa, Lord George Hamilton said the subject was causing him a great deal of anxiety. There were several of the regulations applying to Indian subjects in South Africa which were unjust or otherwise objectionable, and he should strive for their relaxation. He promised to do all in his power to further the objects which the deputation had in view.

The monsoon has proved a normal one in most parts of India. It was less than 25 per cent. of the normal in Baluchistan, the west of the Satpuras, on the south-east coast, and in the subdivisions of Maisur, Haidarabad, Indore, Jaipur, Jabhalpur, Raipur, and Burdwan. The autumn harvests have been generally satisfactory.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Owing to a series of raids made during the last two years by outlaws in the trans-border tract between Bannu and Thal, four flying squadrons, each 700 strong, and commanded by Major-General Egerton, were despatched to coerce the Darwish-Khel Waziris. Colonel H. McRae started from Idar, Colonel Pollock from Thal, Colonel Radford

from Barganuthu, and Colonel Tonnochy from Gumatti. The column under the latter met with the greatest resistance. During an attack on a tower Colonel Tonnochy was wounded, and subsequently succumbed to his wounds. The column also lost Captain G. E. White, 3rd Sikhs, killed, and the following were wounded: Captain C. H. Davies, 3rd Sikhs; Captain C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 5th Panjab Infantry; Lieutenant G. Airy, 3rd Sikhs, and eight natives. The other columns met with less resistance, and captured many prisoners and cattle.

The Jagi tribesmen from over the Afghan border have caused much trouble by encroaching on the grazing lands of the Upper Kurram. A collision took place with some of the Kurram militia, resulting in a few casualties on both sides.

A permanent bridge has recently been completed over the Cabul River at Nowshera. It is 900 feet in length, and will be protected by a fort at Dargai, where the line, a broad gauge one, will terminate.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Maharaja of Jodhpur has volunteered for service in Somaliland at the head of 600 Imperial Service troops mounted on camels. The Maharaja of Bikanir has offered the whole of his camel corps, and the Nawab of Bahawalpur a camel squadron for the same purpose.

BURMA.—The foreign imports of the country in 1901-02 were valued at Rs. 16,76,66,164, as against Rs. 16,90,50,480 in the preceding year. The exports amounted to 68 lacs. The gross Customs revenue was Rs. 1,08,53,453, of which Rs. 63,49,819 was export duty and Rs. 45,03,634 import duty.

The area under rice is 6,650,000 acres, and the estimated crop is 99 per cent. of the normal.

CEYLON.—His Excellency Sir J. West Ridgeway, the Governor, on his return from leave in England, arrived at Colombo on October 25, and was enthusiastically received by all classes. Addresses were presented, guards of honour drawn up, and the houses along his route decorated. On November 11 His Excellency opened his last session of the Legislative Council. In his speech he referred to the growing prosperity of the colony and the large surplus of last year, and said that a still larger one was expected this year. The island continues to be free of plague. The Boer prisoners of war have all been repatriated.

AFGHANISTAN.—The anniversary of the Amir's accession was celebrated all over the country last October. A great darbar was held in Kabul, when 8,000 prisoners were released.

A succession of Afridi *jirgahs* have visited Kabul, and have been well received by the Amir. His Highness has allowed the Aka Khel Mulla, Sayyid Akbar, to return to Tirah, and promised him a yearly allowance if he would induce the Afridis to abstain from raiding into Afghan territory. The Mulla is strongly partisan after the substantial honours which have been bestowed upon him.

The Governor of Khost has received orders to the effect that no Waziris or other turbulent tribesmen are to be allowed to cross the frontier from the direction of India.

BALUCHISTAN.—A *darbar* was held at Quetta on October 2, which was attended by a brilliant gathering and chief headmen and native officials. Colonel Yate, the agent to the Governor-General, presented Major W. R. Edwards, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, and Captain Webb-Ware with the insignia of the Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire. About twenty-five chiefs, notabilities, and native officials, who had done good work, were presented with *khalats* (robes of honour).

PERSIA.—It is stated that border quarrels have broken out between Persia and Afghanistan in consequence of the gradual shifting of the bed of the Helmand River, which irrigates part of Persian Sistan.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Sultan's attention having been drawn to the frequent violations of the Aden frontier by Turkish soldiery, a Ministerial council was convoked to consider the matter. It was decided not to withdraw any troops from the frontier until the frontier question had been settled. But later a new *mazbata* was issued, recommending that the Turkish troops should be withdrawn, and the validity of the British objections be examined by a mixed commission. This is now being done.

Cholera has broken out in Palestine, and pilgrimages to the holy places have, for a time, been put a stop to.

CHINA.—The Dowager-Empress has spontaneously decided to construct a thirty miles branch railway from the Peking-Han-Kau main line to the Western Tombs. Yuan Shih-Kai, Viceroy of Chi-li, has been appointed Minister of Commerce of the Empire, with supreme control of mines, railways, telegraphs, and commercial affairs. A loan of 40,000,000 francs, to be raised at Paris, has been sanctioned. It is to be devoted to the construction of a railway between Ching-ting-fu and Tai-yuen-fu, on conditions similar to those of the Lu-han contract.

Two English missionaries have been murdered at Chen-chau in Hunan. On demand of the British Minister six officials, who were responsible for the murder, have been punished, and the Government undertakes to pay compensation and to erect a memorial at the scene of the murder.

The rice crop in Southern China has failed, and a famine is prevailing.

Sir E. Satow has left Peking on six months' leave.

The evacuation of Shanghai commenced in November, with the departure of the Japanese contingent. The Japanese Government reserves the right to send troops again to Shanghai should any other Power do so.

Wei Kuang-tao, Viceroy of Yun-nan, has been appointed to succeed Liu Kun-yi as Viceroy of Nanking.

JAPAN.—Great Britain, Germany, and France have agreed with Japan to refer to arbitrators the construction of the treaty clauses under which foreigners possess property in Japan.

The Minister of Marine has proposed to increase the navy by the addition of four battleships, six cruisers, and several smaller craft. This will extend over a period of six years, and will entail an annual expenditure of 20,000,000 yen.

A severe typhoon occurred in the autumn, causing much damage to shipping. A wave swept over the Odawara district, and 200 persons were drowned.

The Emperor, on December 9, reopened the Diet in person. The two political parties are combining against the Ministry.

SIAM.—A convention was signed in Paris on October 7 by M. Delcassé and Siamese representatives for the adjustment of all questions pending between the two countries. Amongst these are the restoration of Chantabun to Siam, and the surrender to France of considerable areas in the frontier region adjoining Cambodia.

The Government has engaged Mr. Black, the British Vice-Consul at Bangkok, as adviser to the Minister of Justice.

The Siamese mint has been closed to the free coinage of silver, with a view to the establishment of a gold standard.

PHILIPPINES.—Colonel Pershing's column has completely routed the Maciu Moros, and captured and destroyed forty forts. The Sultan of Cabugatan has succumbed to wounds received in the fighting.

EGYPT.—Lord Kitchener, on his way to India, visited the Assuan reservoir works on November 1. He was accompanied by Sir Reginald Wingate and his staff. He expressed great admiration at the excellence of the work. His lordship afterwards proceeded to Omdurman and Khartum, where he inspected the boys of those schools and opened the Gordon College.

A commercial treaty between France and Egypt has been signed. It is for twenty-one years, and is commercially beneficial to both countries, and is independent of any Turkish arrangements.

His Highness the Khedive has opened the new Museum of Antiquities at Cairo.

A very impressive ceremony took place on December 10 at Assuan. Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught were present at the formal opening of the Nile dam by His Highness the Khedive. The Duchess laid the last stone of the dam.

Sir Benjamin Baker, K.C.M.G., has been appointed by His Majesty the King a Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, in recognition of his services in connection with the construction of the Nile reservoir.

EAST AFRICA, UGANDA, ETC.—Colonel Swayne's force operating against the Mulla in SOMALILAND was attacked at Erego on October 6 in thick bush. The enemy were twice repulsed, but owing to the defection of the Somali levies the force had to retreat. Colonel Phillips, Captain Angus, and seventy men were killed, and Captain Howard and Lieutenant Everett and 100 men wounded. The force retired on Bohotlè. A new expedition, under the command of General Manning, has been formed, and consists of some Indian troops, notably the Second Bombay Grenadiers and Twenty-third Bombay Rifles, with Sudanese and Sikhs from Mombasa. The force will consist of about 5,000 men, 3,500 of which will be regulars. At the time of our going to press (December 15) preparations for the advance are progressing at Berbera.

The Government has granted an additional sum of £600,000 for the completion of the Uganda railway.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.—The Tanganyika Concessions (Limited)

despatched in November last an expedition consisting of three Europeans and 150 porters for the purpose of opening a trade route from the Victoria Nyanza to Lake Tanganyika by way of Mombasa. The German officials are assisting the party.

CAPE COLONY.—Mr. Chamberlain accepted a cordial invitation from the Minister of the Colony to be its guest during his tour there and in the new Colonies. He left at the end of November in the cruiser *Good Hope*, and proceeded via the Suez Canal to Durban, the port of Natal.

A Bill has been passed increasing the contribution of the Colony to the Navy from £30,000 to £50,000.

The Cape imports for the nine months ending September, 1902, amounted to £22,414,886 (including specie £2,010,465), against £15,141,743 (including specie £2,523,568) for the corresponding period of 1901. The exports were £10,956,416, against £8,478,929. The exports also included gold of the value of £3,542,070 against £1,119,320 in the previous year.

The Government order for the disbandment of the town guards in the Colony has caused strong resentment and indignation amongst the loyalists. The Bond resent the very existence of these forces, and desire their abolition. Sir G. Sprigg's motion for the reorganization of the Cape Colonial forces was defeated in the House of Assembly. The House of Assembly has voted £20,000 towards the erection in London of a national memorial to Queen Victoria.

The British Indians of Cape Town, who are a most orderly community, have protested against the formation of a league to oppose their admission to the Transvaal.

There has been a severe drought in the Vryburg district, which brought farming operations to a standstill.

Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, the Governor, made a tour, lasting a month, of the Malmesbury, Saldanha Bay, Piquetberg, Clanwilliam, and Ceres districts.

The railway from Malmesbury to Piquetberg and Eendekuil has been opened.

TRANSSVAAL.—The Customs tariff has been provisionally amended pending negotiations with the other Colonies for a Customs Union. The amendments include the abolition of duties on machinery, building materials, metals, and agricultural implements; reductions of duty on many articles, and an increase in those on wines and spirits. This tariff has given general satisfaction.

The value of imports into the Colony for the first ten months of 1902 was £9,241,131, compared with £2,429,438 in the corresponding period of 1901. The Customs dues for the same period were £1,152,997, as compared with £352,046 in 1901.

An Imperial Civil Service Estimate has been issued of the amount (£8,000,000) required in the current year in aid to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.

The decision of the High Court holding the rent proclamation issued by Mr. Kruger to be invalid has caused the greatest consternation in Johannesburg.

The Chamber of Mines has addressed a letter to Lord Milner referring to the taxation of the Transvaal on account of the war debt, strongly deprecating any considerable increase of taxation on that account.

The dismantling of the forts at Pretoria was commenced in November last. The guns are being parked at the barracks.

Lord Milner has been making a long tour in the two new Colonies.

Martial law was repealed in ORANGE RIVER COLONY last November.

The Government has announced that the Dutch language would be taught in schools.

WEST AFRICA.—According to the Colonial Secretary's report, the revenue of SIERRA LEONE for the year 1901-02 was greater than that of any previous year, amounting to £192,138. The expenditure amounted to £173,457. The value of the imports was £548,286, and of the exports £304,410. As regards Muhammadan education, a special department had been formed to deal with this subject in the Colony and Protectorate, as "the Muhammadan question" is regarded by the Government as one of the most important in the future of West and Central Africa. The population was 76,655. Seventy-six miles of railway were open to traffic, with thirteen stations.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lionel Gallwey, C.M.G., D.S.O., Senior Divisional Commissioner in SOUTHERN NIGERIA, has been appointed Governor of St. Helena in succession to the late Mr. R. A. Sterndale, C.M.G. SOUTHERN NIGERIA, from being a country of the "Fetish" and its "Long Juju," is now settling down to be a comparatively civilized place. Sir Ralph Moor has visited the Aro country, and two new districts have been established in the new territories, with their necessary staffs of political, military, and medical officers.

MOROCCO.—A Mr. Cooper, an English missionary, was murdered at Fez in October last. By order of the Sultan his murderer was dragged from the holy sanctuary of the tomb of Mulai Idris and executed. The Sultan has since presented Mrs. Cooper, the widow, with a sum of £1,000 as compensation.

Owing to the lawlessness of the Berber tribes in the vicinity of Mekinez, the Sultan, with an army of 2,000 men, proceeded to quell a rising near Tesa, three days east of Fez, where a pretender to the throne, named Omar Zarahuni, or Bu Hamāra, "the father of the she-ass," had collected a large following. The Moorish army was attacked on November 3, but the rebels were repulsed and suffered much loss, many being killed and captured. The pretender managed to escape.

The situation at Tetuan is serious, the Banādir Kabyles having declared themselves to be in rebellion, and threaten to raid the town unless certain prisoners are released. Later advices state that the Kabyle chief, Beni Said, has surrendered to the Governor of Tetuan.

CANADA.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier arrived from England on October 17. He was welcomed with great enthusiasm in Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa.

The shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway have empowered the directors to arrange for a Transatlantic steamship service, irrespective of Government contracts.

Sir Henry Strong has resigned the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court, and has been succeeded by Sir H. Tascherau. Mr. Dunsmuir has retired from the Premiership of British Columbia in favour of Colonel Prior, Minister of Mines. Mr. Prefontaine, the new Minister of Marine, has been re-elected to the Dominion House of Commons by an increased majority.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Sir Robert Bond has concluded in Washington a reciprocity convention with the United States on most advantageous terms, admitting Newfoundland products into the States free of duty.

An Arbitration Court appointed to settle some points in dispute between the Government and Mr. Reid regarding the latter's contracts and concessions has awarded the Reid Newfoundland Company \$800,450.

The surplus for the last fiscal year amounted to \$63,000, raising the cash reserve of the Colony to \$425,000.

WEST INDIES.—The Government of Jamaica has been empowered by the Legislative Council to grant advances up to £20,000 to sugar estates requiring financial assistance. The island is in a prosperous position.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—The Right Hon. Lord Tennyson, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor-General of the Commonwealth. In accordance with his lordship's wishes the appointment will be for one year only.

Beneficial rains have fallen in the greater portion of the country, but owing to the late drought it is estimated that Australian exports for the ensuing year will be reduced by £5,000,000. It will also be necessary to import £1,500,000 worth of food-stuffs.

The Federal Senate in Melbourne has finally passed the Commonwealth Tariff Bill.

VICTORIA.—The deficit for the current year will be £836,000. The Government hope to effect economies to the amount of £500,000, and to provide the balance by new taxation.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Budget for the first half of 1902 was as follows: Revenue, £3,688,049, being £271,040 above the estimate, and expenditure £3,490,025. This, after liquidating the deficiency of £74,830 from the previous year, left a net surplus of £123,194. The estimated receipts for the current year amounts to £4,156,134, and expenditure to £4,154,504. All the industries of the country are flourishing, and the population has greatly increased.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Parliament was prorogued in November last to March 5. Before the prorogation a Loan Act authorizing the Government to borrow £490,000 was passed. Half this amount will be devoted to a repurchase scheme for closer settlement, and the remainder to public works. Both Houses agreed to a Bill giving authority to the Government to complete the construction of a Transcontinental railway on the land-grant system, so as to connect Adelaide by rail with Port Darwin. A dry dock at Port Adelaide was also sanctioned.

Exceptionally heavy rains have fallen in the drought-stricken areas, and harvest prospects inside the rainfall line are excellent.

NEW ZEALAND.—Charles Henry Major, Esq. (late Attorney-General of

Grenada), has been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Fiji and Judicial Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

The Colonial Government has accepted the tender of the New Zealand and South African Steamship Company for the New South African service.

The New Zealand Trade Commissioner has reported adversely on the prospects of trade with Japan and China.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following:—General Sir Robert White, K.C.B., Colonel of the 21st (Empress of India) Lancers (Crimea, Indian campaign 1857-59);—Lieutenant-General Edward Chippendall, C.B. (Sikh campaign, Crimea, Black Mountain expedition);—Major C. E. Belli-Bivar, second in command 2nd Bombay Lancers at Quetta;—Captain E. Moore Harper, formerly of the 60th Regiment (Ashanti expedition 1873-74, Perak expedition, Basuto war, the Galka and Gika expeditions, Zulu and Boer campaigns);—Mirza Nazim Shah, brother of Bahadur Shah, the King of Delhi during the Mutiny;—Mr. Robert Armitage Sterndale, C.M.G., Governor of St. Helena (Mutiny campaign);—General John Augustus Fuller, R.E., C.I.E. (Panjab campaign 1848-49);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Parker, Leicester Regiment (Crimea);—Colonel G. F. Blair, late Royal Artillery (Burmese war 1850-53);—Rev. Peter Mercer, D.D., one of the pioneers of the Presbyterian Church at the Antipodes;—The Hon. Mr. Justice Hensman, first Puisne Judge of Western Australia;—Lieutenant-General Robert Stuart Baynes (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Lady Jerningham, wife of Sir Hubert Jerningham, formerly Governor of Trinidad;—Mr. Humphrey Stanley Herbert Jones, C.B., Commissary-General, formerly of the Commissariat Department (Cape, Canada, West Indies, Crimea, New Zealand);—Tao-Mu, Viceroy of the Kwang Provinces;—Colonel Melville Brown (Mutiny campaign);—Veterinary Lieutenant-Colonel George Durrant (Transvaal campaign 1881);—Lieutenant Count Ugo Francesetti di Malagra, Italian representative at Seoul;—Sir John George Bourinot, clerk of the Dominion House of Commons;—Mr. T. Parry Woodcock, Bengal Civil Service, some time Judge of Allahabad, and the last representative of the pre-Mutiny Civil Service of the East India Company;—Colonel Richard Hugh Carew, D.S.O., late R.A.M.C. (Abyssinian campaign 1868, Sikkim expedition 1888, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98 with the Tochi Field Force);—Major A. J. Shaw, I.S.C. (Burmese expedition 1885-87, China 1900);—General Karl Wagner, organizer of the Persian Artillery;—Brigade Surgeon C. Wyat Watling (Afghan war 1878-80, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Liu-Kun-yi, Viceroy of Nan-King;—Captain E. E. H. Erskine, I.S.C.;—Lieutenant-General John Ignatius Morris, Royal Marine Light Infantry (Sudan 1884-85, Suakin Field Force 1885);—Captain John Neill Angus, R.A. (Somaliland 1892);—Lieutenant-Colonel Montagu de Salis M. G. A. Clarke (Crimea, New Zealand 1866);—Sir Juland Danvers, formerly Government Director of Indian Railway Companies;—Major-General Charles James Jennings, late of the Madras Staff Corps;—Colonel J. E. Phillips, D.S.O., R.E. (Ashanti 1895, Ladysmith Relief Force, Somaliland 1902);—General Christian

Botha;—Major Laurence Edward Elliott, I.S.C. and Deputy Commissioner Burma;—General George Crommelin Hankin, late of the B.S.C. (Afghan war 1880);—Captain John Palmer, R.N. (West Coast of Africa 1850, Baltic 1854-55);—Mr. Pattabhirama Iyer, Judge of the Madras City Civil Court;—Major C. E. Mardall, Military Accounts Department;—Mr. A. E. Spring, Assistant Surveyor-General Photo and Litho Office in the Survey of India;—Admiral Sir Edward Bridges Rice (Yang-tsze-Kiang 1842, Burma 1852, Crimea 1856);—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Morley Balders, late of the King's Dragoon Guards (Zulu war 1879);—Surgeon-General John Butler Hamilton (First Sudan campaign, Burma expedition 1886);—Major E. S. E. Harrison, D.S.O., 11th Hussars (North-west Frontier campaign 1897-98, and South Africa);—Captain Digby Lighton Mallaby, R.E. (Isazai expedition 1892);—Dr. Robert Grahame, R.N., Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, retired (South America, West Coast of Africa, Crimean war);—Colonel Charles Smith Perry, formerly of the 9th Foot (Burmese expedition 1887-89);—Captain Andrew Augustine Frayne McArdle, of the Indian Medical Service;—Major F. J. Herbert Barton, I.S.C. (Hazara expedition 1891, Chitral relief force 1895);—Khan Bahadur Naoroji Manekji Khory, Superintendent of Dhar State;—Sirdar Yahyā Khan, grandfather of the Amir's favourite wife (at Kabul);—Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.I.E., late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal;—Sir James Graham-Montgomery, formerly of the Coldstream Guards (Egypt 1882);—Costaki Anthopoulos Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador to Great Britain;—Colonel Guthrie Hylton Jessop, Army Service Corps (Egypt 1882, Sudan 1884, and South Africa);—Lieutenant F. Brooks Dugdale, V.C., of the 5th (Royal Irish) Lancers (Ladysmith Relief Column);—Mr. Charles Shortt Dicken, C.M.G., late acting Agent-General for Queensland;—Moulvi Nazir Hussein, Shams-ul-Ulemā, a learned and well-known Muhammadan of Delhi;—Captain George John Hirtzel, R.N. (Crimea, Abyssinia, Egypt 1882);—Major Frederick Kneebone, late of the Worcestershire Regiment (Sutlej and Panjāb campaigns, Indian Mutiny);—Major C. H. Clements, I.S.C. (Burmese expedition 1887-89, North-west Frontier campaign 1897);—Captain William Matthews, late of the Prince Albert's Own Hussars (Crimea, India);—Mr. H. C. Hill, Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India;—Lieutenant-General Sir John Stokes, R.E. (Kaffir wars 1845-52, Crimea);—Lieutenant-Colonel V. C. Tonnochy, C.B. (Mahsud-Waziri expedition 1881, Burma 1889, Isazai expedition 1892, Chitral relief force 1895, Tochi expedition 1897-98, and Tirah), in Somaliland;—Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal;—Major-General William John Vousden, V.C., C.B., late of I.S.C. (Jowaki-Afridi expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-80, Miranzai expedition 1891, Tirah campaign);—Colonel W. Henry White, retired Madras Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny);—Captain G. E. White, 3rd Sikhs (Burma expedition, Tirah), in Somaliland;—Rev. Arthur H. Male, Wesleyan Chaplain to the Forces (in Afghanistan under Lord Roberts, Egypt under Lord Wolseley);—Mr. James Henry Hart, formerly Commissioner of Customs (China), and English secretary to Li Hung Chang;—Colonel Hardy (Persian campaign

1856-57, Mutiny, Arabia 1865-66), for twenty-six years secretary of the English Church Union ;—Sirdar Muhammad Hashim Khan, grandson of Dost Muhammad Khan ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Charles Prevost, formerly in command of the 2nd Battalion West India Regiment (Crimea) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. S. Brander, Indian Medical Service (Afghan war 1879-80) ;—Major-General H. J. Degacher, c.B., Colonel of the South Wales Borderers (Kaffir war 1877-78, Zulu war 1879) ;—Major-General Charles Fitzgerald Creagh (Crimea, New Zealand 1863-66, Perak 1875-76, Zulu war 1879, Nile expedition 1884-85) ;—Major-General B. G. Van der Gucht, Bengal Staff Corps, retired (Kote Kangra expedition 1846) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Bronislaw James Jazdowski, R.A.M.C. (North-west Frontier campaign 1863-64, Egypt 1882, Bechuanaland) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert F. A. Norton, R.A. (Afghan campaign 1878-79, Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85, North-west Frontier campaign 1897-98, Tirah) ;—Mr. Charles Forbes Rivett-Carnac, Bengal Civil Service ;—Captain Henry Rotherham, Royal Welsh Fusiliers (Crete 1897-98, China 1900) ;—Colonel Charles Bowen, late R.E., Chief Secretary Public Works Department to the Maisur Government ;—Major-General Robert Bruce Chichester, late 81st Regiment (Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Major G. Beedle, late of the 6th Royal Warwickshire Regiment (Kaffir wars 1846-47 and 1850-53, Indian Mutiny campaign 1858, Hazara expedition 1868) ;—the Right Rev. Edward Hyndman Beckles, some time Bishop of Sierra Leone ;—Major-General Henry Thomas Oldfield, late of the 6th Bengal Cavalry (Peshawar Frontier 1854-55, Busee Khel tribes expedition 1855, Mutiny) ;—Colonel Harry McCalmont, a prominent figure on the Turf and in the yachting world (as Colonel of the 6th Battalion Warwickshire Regiment he served in South Africa in 1900) ;—Commander Charles Frederick Hill, R.N. (Baltic 1855, China 1858-59).

December 15, 1902.

The Duke and Duchess of Connaught will represent the King Emperor at the Durbar to be held by his Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi on January 1 in celebration of the Coronation of His Majesty. We shall give a full report of this famous and important gathering in our next number.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1903.

THE WESTERN FRONTIERS OF INDIA.*

BY J. D. REES, C.I.E.

TIME was, and no distant time, when the Indian Frontier meant the North-West Frontier, the traditional gate whereby invaders have entered India. Already, however, there are three frontiers, the North-West, the Belooch, and the Persian Gulf, and probably the first-named is the less, as the second is the more, vulnerable, and the third the most defensible, and that for the defence of which the Empire is chiefly called upon to take measures lest its present inviolate character be impaired. The North-Eastern and the Burma-Chinese frontiers may for the present be left out of account, though they, too, are no longer unaffected by European politics, while Russia annexes Chinese provinces, and a Russian of Prince Ukhtomsky's political and journalistic influence, with cumbrous phrase, but clear meaning, urges France, "a nation sympathetic with the Slavonic ideal, to find an accommodation with Siam, which, retaining its independence, would see its enemy only in the conquerors of Burma, and not in those quarters, where it is time for the natives to identify their interests with the true needs of all the other Oriental nations, in the hope of the evolution of a Russo-Chinese world, in which the promise of power and prosperity lies hidden."

The present points of interest may be considered under

* See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for discussion on this paper.

two heads, the North-West and the Persian Gulf, because the Belooch frontier, in so far as it is open to a land attack across Eastern Persia and West Beloochistan, may be conveniently classed with the North-West, and so far as it is available for attack or defence from the sea, and in respect of communications with the interior and the shore, with the Persian Gulf. Indeed, the most recent writers on the border-land dwell on the "passes that beggar description," "the distances of 50 miles, with not the slightest sign of life," "the tiny villages kept alive by springs tapped in distant hills," which lie between comparatively fertile Seistan, and the objective of an invading army on the Indian frontier, protected by our dominating position at Quetta. Neither Sir Thomas Holdich nor Major Sykes describe a possible path for the successors of the Macedonian madman, whose coast route is also impracticable for modern armies. Even our new Quetta Nushki-Robat line is, as Professor Vambéry says, a "waterless, grassless steppe." The Gulf, with such communications as have it for their base, is of all the most important; for a hostile Power, with a port on its margin, might, if sufficiently strong by land and sea, entirely disregard all the defences of the border hills from Chitral to Quetta, upon which so much treasure has, in that case, to little purpose, been lavished. I do not personally know any Russian author who has dealt with the subject of an attack through Afghanistan, except Prince Ukhtomsky, who accompanied the present Czar throughout his travels in the East, and has subsequently occupied an important position in the Russian world, and was at any rate a prominent factor in the recent occurrences in China, in which, owing to our South African engagements, we played a part in no way adequate to our past traditions and former commercial supremacy. The Prince at any rate will serve my purpose. He says, "The bonds uniting our part of Europe with Iran and Turan, and through them with India and China, are so ancient and lasting that we do not fully comprehend their meaning, and the duties they entail on us in our home and foreign policy." Comprehension of these

duties has increased since these words were written in 1890. Again, Ukhtomsky writes, "There is not the slightest doubt of a future in which Asiatic Russia will mean all Asia; bonds historical and ethnographic unite the Russians with the peoples from the Caspian to the Ganges and the Deccan." The intervening countries of Persia and Afghanistan would be merely subjected to what the Prince calls, in a surely inimitable phrase, "painless identification with Russia." Again, "No one"—that is, no one in Russia—"has any intention of attacking England in Asia. England cherishes a rooted, though totally unfounded conviction, that the Russians are consciously drawn to the Indus and the Ganges. What calls up a smile to our lips appears a real threat to Albion, and to some extent is of advantage to us, for when portions of the North-West drop into their hands they seem to form fresh Gordian knots, causing heavy subsidiary expenses, especially for military purposes and increasing financial disorder. Of course we do not need India, but we are and must be supported by the mythical idea of an ever possible advance of the irresistible north over the Hindu Kush, the practicability of which history has proved." It may safely be affirmed that history proves nothing of the kind, for no Western Power after subduing Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates, has proceeded through the further Mohammedan region of Afghanistan, armed to the teeth as it now is, to pass unopposed by tribes at the least hating a new anti-Mohammedan invader as much as ourselves, to find the powerful army of India before and behind the Indus, awaiting the starved survivors of a mad march. I dwelt upon this subject in an article entitled the "Czar's Friend," in the *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1901, and can now only say that after some study of this matter in Russia, Persia, and India, in which countries as an interpreter in Russian, Persian, and Hindustani I had at least some means of acquiring information, I firmly believe that Ukhtomsky is as open and truthful in regard to this invasion, as he obviously was in respect of Russian designs upon

China, which ten years ago he frankly unfolded. True the contrary intention is continually asserted in Russian journals, and the repetition of these provoking paragraphs in our newspapers serves the end in view of making us lavish on the already naturally fortified North-West Frontier money which would be far better expended on looking after our trade in Persia, or in providing floating defences and warships for the East India command. But these paragraphs are certainly as little likely to be penned by responsible Russian statesmen as portentous articles in English reviews, signed A, B, and C, are to be the literary offspring of Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, or Lord Cranborne. In such articles and elsewhere is recommended an agreement with Russia regarding the Persian Gulf, which can only mean the fateful and fatal concession of a port in return for some vague assurance, which will, like most diplomatic assurances, last, in regard to any particular point, no longer than is convenient to the party in that behalf prejudiced. *Per contra*, since the question arises, we have in the *Nineteenth Century* for March one of the best living authorities, Professor Vambéry, writing down under his honoured name the true consequences of such a step, which the author of the standard work on Persia, Lord Curzon, truly says would justify the impeachment of the Minister who sanctioned it, if indeed all the military and pecuniary resources of the Empire were not at the time being, as they have of late been, poured out in an illimitable and indistinguishable stream into the lap of loyal, lukewarm, and disloyal Africa. For without money we can do nothing, and Russia finds funds for loans to States, the commercial and political conquest of which she covets, without counting the cost, and without insisting on the consequential acceptance of her own administrative methods and ideals, which we somewhat officiously made a condition in the like case.

The mention of Lord Curzon brings me at once to the present policy on the Indian Western and North-Western land frontier. As far back as 1897, on the termination of

the Tirah campaign, the Secretary of State telegraphed to Lord Elgin urging that with the cessation of hostilities our permanent position and policy should be defined, and agreeing with the Viceroy that our interference with independent tribes—so far as they can be called independent since the Durand line was drawn—should be strictly limited in order to avoid serious eventual responsibilities involved in the extension of administrative control over tribal territory. The Secretary of State also urged that the then existing arrangements should be modified in view to concentration of force. While he formally concurred with the Government of India in ascribing the concerted, simultaneous, and till then unprecedentedly serious, risings of the tribes to fanaticism, Lord George Hamilton could not conceal the fact that the delimitation of the spheres of British and Afghan influence, in accordance with the Durand convention, had naturally led the tribesmen to suspect designs upon their independence. There are not a few interested in frontier politics who consider that not only was this result to be expected, but that a mistake was made in determining upon this delimitation, which necessarily largely increased our responsibilities and intervention in tribal affairs. Among such apparently is Sir T. Holdich, a good judge, if there be one. No doubt there is a difficulty in preserving a state of civilized administration up to a certain point, and ignoring violence and rapine immediately beyond it, especially when the inhabitants of either side are not a constant but a changing and an interchanging quantity; but it is possible that our susceptibilities in this respect are too acute, and have led us on many occasions into interferences in matters we might well have ignored, and into vain and expensive expeditions. To some, at any rate, it would appear, even from the narratives of those responsible for the action in question, that the dynastic and domestic squabbles of the petty chief of Chitral were such as we might have disregarded. Yet they led to our occupation of what a great authority describes as “a useless, expensive, and burdensome post,”

since invasion from the North is impossible. One serious objection to such interference is that it can have no finality. If an obligation to impose law and order on the turbulent frontier tribes lies upon us in consequence of a higher standard than that of other nations, which we impose upon ourselves, why not upon similar tribes in Afghanistan? and if there, why not in Eastern Persia, in Persia generally, in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor? Where, indeed, in such a policy can the line be drawn? The money spent in mounting guns in solitary valleys, the treasure lavished upon fortifying natural forts, would have sufficed many times over to supply the loans solicited on very good security by Persia, our refusal to grant which threw the Shah into the arms of the all-willing Czar. Of course, the Indian and Home Budgets are separate, and independent of one another; but now at any rate it is idle to deny the fact that Persia is as much a frontier of India as is Afghanistan, but far weaker, far more vulnerable, far more the object of a rival Power's solicitude, so that Indian money might be spent on the shores of the Persian Gulf with as much propriety as upon cantonments, roads, and railways in and for the benefit of Chitral, and other robber-haunted border hills. It might be argued that the charges in both cases more properly fall on the Imperial Exchequer, which would, as regards expenditure in the Gulf, to some extent be recouped in consequence of the revival which would result in the fast falling trade with Persia. It is useless to suggest at present that any group of interests, however vital, can compete with those of South Africa, though neglect of the Indo-Persian question may well lead eventually to a conflagration beside which the war with the Transvaal would seem a feeble flame. Not, indeed, that Gulf questions have of late been neglected. The action of the Home Government and the Viceroy of India in regard to the efforts of the French to obtain a coaling station at Muscat, and of the Turks, whether or not of their own motion, to seize Koweit, was prompt, firm, and effectual. But more than this is wanted at the hands of the Home

Government if we are to retain our commercial predominance in the northern shores of the Gulf, which, in fact, the Shah owes to ourselves, for it is our might which gave reality to his previously hardly existing sovereignty over the chiefly Arab tribes which inhabit the lowlands between the mountains and the northern shore.

To return to the North-West Frontier proper, a great deal has been written in the last two or three years regarding the relations of the Punjab Government with the frontier tribes and with the Government of India, and the Viceroy's action in creating a new frontier Province out of the tribal hill tracts and the ordinary plains across the Indus, but it is evident from a perusal of the Blue Book that there is a most unusual consensus of opinion to the effect that such a step as Lord Curzon has taken is necessary, and that its necessity has long since been recognised. Sir Mackworth Young, the Lieutenant-Governor of the day, pointed out—as also did Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor—that when the Lahore Administration appeared to differ with the Government of India, the fact was that the former simply represented the difficulties and risks inherent in some forward movement, with which it was the more impressed on account of their closer proximity. True, Sir M. Young disapproved, while Sir D. Fitzpatrick approved, the creation of a separate administration formed out of the frontier districts and tribal tracts, but Sir M. Young also agreed that, if the elimination of the Punjab Government was desired, it could only be brought about in the manner adopted. Due weight should be attached to his statement that “if the Punjab Government has been a drag on the forward school of frontier politicians, the most strenuous advocates of which will be found in military ranks, the elimination of its counsels will not strengthen the position of the Government of India.” But there is no fear that the present Viceroy will be led away by the military forward school, to which he has shown the utmost unwillingness to lend an ear, and it may well be that in the future the fact

that the centre of interest and of danger has left this locality—if, indeed, it ever really was focussed there—will probably lead to the relegation of these tribal difficulties to something more like their real relative importance, and to that abstention from interference which, in spite of all orders and warnings, has been too much practised by frontier officers, and too much favoured by the military element at the headquarters of the Government of India. Officers who have spent their lives and made their reputations on this frontier admit as much. Witness Sir F. Cunningham, who says: "In the policy which led to the occupation and, as the tribesmen view it" (are they not right?), "the practical annexation of Wana, Tochi, and Malakand, there are elements so contrary to the feelings, traditions, and aspirations of the clans, so likely to arouse their fear of loss of independence, that this alone would account for some of the difficulties experienced in carrying out the aims of Government on the North-West Frontier." Although, for instance, the Sandeman policy, "the occupation of a tribal tract with (the officially reported) assent of the clan," which worked very well among the Beloochees, though it extended our Empire well into Eastern Persia, although this policy was proved beyond all question to be utterly unsuitable for adoption among the wholly different Pathan tribes, "*Afreedi, Hazara, and Ghilzai, who clamour for plunder or bribes,*" efforts are none the less made even now in this country to represent that this method of extending our liabilities and responsibilities should be applied all along a frontier inhabited by tribes, who resemble one another in nothing, but in having no resemblance to the Beloochi, whose geographical position is moreover wholly different, in that they have a back door open towards Afghanistan.

Lord Elgin, on laying down office, claimed that he not only approved, but had followed, a policy of non-annexation and non-interference, and explained that the expeditions and advances he had made were inheritances; and Lord George Hamilton, who has been most insistent in forbidding

a forward policy, deferred passing orders on the proposals of the retiring Viceroy for garrisoning certain tribal tracts, until the Government of India had reported upon its general policy towards the tribes in view to the avoidance of the extension of administrative control over independent tribal territory. This left the matter for Lord Curzon, who with characteristic courage at once grasped the frontier nettle, giving an indication of the line he would take in one of his earliest despatches, when he laid down the principle that in the Khyber and elsewhere along the frontier the various corps of tribal militia or rifles or military police, though semi-military in organization, being more than semi-political in functions and object, should necessarily, except in time of active warfare, be under civil authority and control. At that time the Government of India stood committed to a policy involving the construction of fortifications and the retention of a large garrison in Chitral; the expenditure of several lakhs of rupees on a new fort at Lundi Kotal and on other fortified works in the Khyber Pass; the construction of a bed for a light railway from Jamrud to Lundi Kotal; the maintenance of a military garrison on the Samana range south of Tirah, and in the Kurram Valley, and considerable expenditure on forts and posts in the two last-named places; the maintenance of a garrison in the Tochi Valley; the establishment of a cantonment in the neighbourhood of Miranshah; and the maintenance of a garrison at Wana in South Waziristan to protect the Gomal Pass. These measures involved very large expenditure in themselves, as well as the risk that the maintenance of regular garrisons would tend to increase rather than diminish the extent of our interference with the tribes. Moreover, the cardinal principle of the concentration of our regular forces was in these measures ignored, and Lord Curzon, in the autumn of 1899, submitted to the Secretary of State the principles, upon which he considered a positive course of policy and action applicable along the entire border, should be based. These principles were :

1. To avoid locking up regular garrisons in costly fortified positions at a distance from our base, in which the troops themselves are practically lost to the effective strength of India, from which in time of emergency they need to be reinforced.

2. To interest the inhabitants of each district or post whence the garrison is withdrawn in their own defence, and to establish a lien on their loyalty by enrolling them as a tribal force to supply the local garrisons.

3. To maintain movable columns ready to march to the relief of the advanced tribal garrisons from bases on or near the administrative frontier of India, and to connect the frontier cantonments with the large Indian garrisons by light railways pushed forward from the existing railway systems.

In pursuance of this policy, which the India Office approved, with a recognition of the judgment, ability, and promptitude with which the questions had been treated, the garrisons at Chitral and Lundi Kotal were reduced; the proposed new fortifications on a large scale were abandoned; native levies were utilized in Chitral, and in a more regular corps, in the Khyber; the garrison duty of the Indian army was reduced; the publicity and exaggeration, the pomp and circumstance, of petty frontier expeditions was eliminated, to the dissatisfaction of the soldiers concerned, and to the advantage of the Indian taxpayer; the tribes were conciliated by the employment offered, and not alienated by interference; and the construction of a light railway from Nowshera to Dargai and the extension of the standard gauge line to Jamrood were sanctioned—the last two measures being such as conduce to the safety and convenience of trade and of the public, and are of equal value from a military or a civil point of view. Proceeding upon similar principles, it was decided to withdraw the military garrisons from the forts on the Samana range, replacing them by a battalion of military police raised from the tribes, commanded by police officers, and occupying an intermediate

position between the native levies of Chitral and the more military organization of the Khyber Rifles ; to withdraw the regular troops from the Kurram Valley, increasing simultaneously the local militia under police officers ; to establish a cantonment at Miranzai, in order to allow of the last-mentioned withdrawals, a corresponding saving being effected by giving up the proposed additional accommodation for the troops at Kohat ; to withdraw the regular troops from the Tochi and Gomal valleys and from Wana in North and South Waziristan as soon as possible, and to replace them by new, chiefly tribal, militia corps, similar to the Khyber Rifles and the Kurram Militia, one to hold the Tochi, and the other the Gomal, Valley.

All these proposals were made with the concurrence of the Punjab Government, and it was estimated at the time that they would effect a reduction upon the larger programme, which originally held the field, of about £175,000, without taking into account the savings which annually recur, which would not be less than £20,000. Nor should it be forgotten that, over and above these and other economies, the great merits of these plans are the addition to our defensive strength on the border by the enlistment of the tribesmen, and the increase to our offensive power by the recall and concentration of the troops of the regular army. Among the members of the Government of India who concurred with the proposals of Lord Curzon (who is, of course, like every Viceroy, and certainly not less than any preceding Viceroy, his own Foreign Minister) were Sir Clinton Dawkins and Generals Sir W. Lockhart and Sir Edwin Collen. The Viceroy, however, was not content to leave this policy to be carried out in future by the Government of India, acting as heretofore through the Punjab Administration. In the following year his Government—bereft now of the counsels of Sir William Lockhart by the hand of death, and of Sir Clinton Dawkins by his removal to another sphere, in which none the less his services were utilized in even more important public business — for-

warded to the Secretary of State a minute drawn up by himself, in which, after a full and clear review of the past history of the frontier, he described the existing administrative arrangements as "labour without responsibility for the local, and responsibility without control for the supreme, Government." Lord Curzon had visited the frontier, and examined the question on the spot before drawing up his exhaustive minute, in which he recommended the construction of a new agency or Province, under the immediate control of the Government of India, created out of the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab in which direct relations with the tribes occur, and he considered the adoption of such a scheme essential to the prosecution of the frontier policy which had just been approved, the main features of which are above described. Lord Curzon's minute was adopted by General Sir E. Collen and by his four civilian colleagues, and it may be regarded as certain that Sir Clinton Dawkins and Sir William Lockhart would have approved of a measure which set a seal upon the policy which they had already embraced.

A great deal has been said and written concerning alleged differences of opinion as to the creation of the frontier province. In fact, however, the Secretary of State had found the existing administrative conditions unsatisfactory; the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Mackworth Young, had objected to the scheme suggested by the India Office, which he thought would place the Frontier Commissioner in the position of serving two masters, and had recorded his opinion that if it was desired to eliminate the Punjab Government from trans-frontier control, this could only be done by removing the frontier districts, or such portions of them as were closely connected with trans-frontier tribes from the Lahore administration, and forming that tract into a separate charge under the direct orders of the Government of India. The Secretary of State had practically expressed such a desire, and Sir Mackworth Young, while disapproving the measure,

thought it better to face the objections to it than to adopt the half-hearted alternative suggested. Opinions in favour of some such scheme as that of Lord Curzon had been expressed by Sir B. Frere, Sir H. Durand, Sir J. Browne, Sir R. Sandeman, Sir W. Lockhart, Sir C. Aitchison, Sir G. Chesney, Lord Lytton, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Roberts. The present Commander-in-Chief was actually designated head of such a new province as was then contemplated, and has now been made, when the outbreak of the Afghan War led to the abandonment of Lord Lytton's scheme, on the appointment of his successor, Lord Ripon. Lord Elgin is the latest authority, who with characteristic conscientiousness recorded for himself alone, and without committing his Government, the contrary opinion, just before he left India in 1898. He greatly, no one can say unduly, valued the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Mackworth Young, but equal importance at least attaches to the contrary view of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, who agreed altogether in Lord Curzon's conclusions. Sir Dennis showed that the Punjab Government had been pushed on by the forward party in the Government of India, which held that after the delimitation of the Durand line, we were bound not only to establish such control over the tribes as was needed for our own protection and to check raids into Afghanistan, but such control as would enable us to settle the quarrels of the tribesmen among themselves; that the Punjab Government, being nearer the frontier, saw the difficulties and objections to such a policy, which indeed the Secretary of State had vetoed, knew that the so-called "Sandeman" system was wholly inapplicable to tribes entirely different in character, constitution, and geographical position from those with which Sandeman so successfully dealt, and held that in certain districts, such as the Khyber, the best plan was not to interfere with fighting among the tribesmen so long as their dissensions did not endanger the peace of the road, or any of our own interests. This policy would seem admirably

adapted to all such cases, but is opposed to the interests and aspirations of the military element, and to the traditional theory that it is the duty of a British Government to police all parts of the world in which, for any possible or plausible reason, we can make any kind of colourable claim to interfere. Sir Dennis could easily show that frontier outbreaks were not confined to tracts under the immediate supervision of Lahore, but he cordially approved Lord Curzon's plan of trying tribal militia, and said that if it stands the test of times of trouble in a country like Waziristan, it will do its inventor infinite credit. He remarked, however, that the omission to recommend such a scheme on the part of previous Lieutenant-Governors was equally shared by the advisers of successive Viceroys at Simla. Finally, after very clearly explaining how apparent differences of opinion had arisen, he expressed his own wish to repeat the instructions already sent to India to avoid any new responsibility not absolutely required by strategical necessities and the protection of the border, and to add a word of warning lest an exaggerated view should prevail of our obligations under the Durand Convention, and against pushing too far the theory that the local authority should be "given a free hand." The India Office evidently thought Lord Curzon's own attitude in this respect so satisfactory as to call for no admonition, and nothing indeed could be clearer than his expressed views on the subject. It is apparent, therefore, that a consensus of contemporaneous opinion supported Lord Curzon's scheme for carrying out the policy of His Majesty's Government.

In one of a series of able and interesting articles contributed to the *Times* in 1902, it was suggested that the Viceroy in placing portions of the plain districts of the Punjab under the new Chief Commissioner, as well as the wilder frontier tribes, contemplated a reversion in the former localities to a less complex and scientific kind of administration, and it was even hinted that the clock would be set back in other quarters, if this experiment proved a success.

That this, however, was an entirely erroneous conclusion is obvious from Lord Curzon's minute. Perhaps he may entertain a doubt whether the Indian peasant appreciates the full merits of the Civil Code, scientific sanitation, and all the paraphernalia of an administration fashioned on the Western progress pattern. Indeed, he evidently thinks irrigation, communications, and commerce of at least equal importance. But the time has yet to come when a great officer of State in India will say as much on this subject as Lord George Hamilton has said in England, in and out of the House of Commons, and till then the daring individual who suggests that to let the people alone while educating them, and improving their material prosperity is the policy we should follow, and are almost pledged to follow, must be content to be written down an eccentric advocate of reaction. At any rate, no climbing down the advanced administrative ladder was foreshadowed in Lord Curzon's irrefutable reflections on the effects of the licentious litigiousness, fostered by our scientific system. These reflections and the whole minute are available to those who will, and there is no need on this occasion to quote from a State paper which has accomplished its purpose, and is a memorable addition to the archives of the Government of India. There are some, however, who will quote the following words with a purpose other than that of settling the question whether regions beyond the administrative border of British India, but within the sinister sphere of influence between that and the Durand line, should or should not be administered directly by the Government directly responsible for their administration. Lord Curzon writes: "It may be truly said that every change in the frontiers of India subsequent to 1877 has been a change dictated not by considerations arising out of or directly affecting the interests of the Punjab Government, but by Imperial considerations and by them alone." Is the word Imperial used in its Indian, or its all-British aspect? It may be said no distinction can be drawn. But the Indian and British Budgets are

distinct. India's attitude towards Britain is very different from that of the loyal, the too much protesting loyal, Colonies, whose loyalty and whose aspirations for confederation will not stand the test of a collection. Will she always pay the bill as the frontiers are pushed farther and farther west, after so much of the Afghan hills and the roof of the world has been practically annexed, and Beluchistan added to the Empire, when the flank has been turned, and the frontier appears still farther west in Seistan, in Fars, in Arabistan, and in the Persian Gulf? Or will the burden be transferred to the patient shoulders of that uncomplaining beast of burden, the British taxpayer, who could a few years back have bought the position now occupied by Russia in Persia for a loan on excellent security of the one hundred and fiftieth part of what has already been spent on the Transvaal. This question will have to be faced one day, and it is no real use to censure those among us who have joined the Russians in creating the great North-West Frontier Phantom Invasion. What floating batteries, war-ships, and repairing docks might not have been created for the protection of the shores of the Gulf, and India's Malabar and Coromandel coasts, with the money poured out on an already naturally fortified frontier, often in removing stumbling-blocks from the paths of our enemies, and in subduing tribes whose fierce and unconquerable independence is at once their own and our most valuable asset, who would hate any invader, and most of all the arch-enemy of Islam in Central Asia! And in this aspect of the question no one, who like myself has been for years a regular student of the Persian and Hindustani newspapers, and of the views of Mohammedans in different parts of Asia, can help regretting that circumstances have made it difficult for us to avoid offending our Mohammedan friends and fellow-subjects. Neither to Shia nor Sunni do we seem altogether warm and dependable friends. Much of this is unfortunately unavoidable, but when the Cape, Somaliland, Greece, Egypt, and Venezuela give a moment's respite, a

section of our powerful press begins again the anti-Turkish agitation, supported by tales of atrocities, which are not conspicuously impartial. Not that way, at any rate, lie concessions for important trunk-lines, and a desire for the extension and consolidation of British interests on the part of other Powers.

Among those who do not consider a Russian invasion from the North-West altogether impracticable are Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Wilkinson, who none the less describe some of the passes as not affording room for two horsemen to ride abreast, or sustenance except for small parties, and allow that from the present Russian frontier an invasion by Herat and Kandahar, or by Cabul, is impossible. The Duke of Wellington thought that "troops would force their way through this wild country only to find the commencement of their difficulties," and in recent days Field-Marshal Sir N. Chamberlain and Sir D. Stewart, and General Sir J. Adye, have held the same opinion. The case, of course, would be different if Northern Afghanistan fell to Russia in a partition, such as is sometimes recommended by the same school, which would also bring about the far more fatal division of the shores of the Persian Gulf with the great Northern Power. But Sir Charles Dilke and his collaborateur summed up the Frontier Question in 1892 by saying, "Whatever measures we take, and whatever policy may be adopted, the fundamental condition of the defence of India will continue to be the readiness of England to send ample reinforcements when they are needed. In other words, the peace of India depends upon Great Britain having an efficient," not a large, "army at home and retaining the command of the sea." The history of the last ten years surely emphasizes the truth of this dictum, and particularly of the last words, now that the greatest naval Power after our own is closely associated with the great land Power, whose Oriental aspirations cause us such anxiety; and now that her Persian plan of campaign includes the eventual possession of a port

on the Persian Gulf, which would turn the flank of our North-West Frontier, with its costly and extended system of garrisons, fortifications, and road and railway communications.

Since Persia and the "*warm Persian sea-board*" are at present, far more than the Afghan Frontier, the point to which Russian activities are directed, and for the reason that Russia's arrival in Southern Persia would immediately transfer to that quarter all our anxieties for the safety of India, some reference is necessary to the recent progress of our Northern neighbours in the dominions of the Shah, since Lord Curzon in his standard work described the country and the Persian Question. Subsequently to that date Russia has made the Siberian Railway, has obtained practical possession of Manchuria, a port on the Pacific, a great if not preponderating influence in Northern China, has largely developed and linked up her Southern and Trans-Caucasian, and has commenced to join her Siberian and Transcaspian Railway systems, has enormously increased her commercial activities on the Caspian and the Black Seas, has constructed a carriage road from Resht, the Caspian port, to Teheran, the capital, from Askabad on the Transcaspian Railway to Meshed, the capital of Khorassan, is constructing other roads from Erivan to Tabriz, and from Kazvin to Hamadan, a route on which I* reported in 1885, has acquired almost a monopoly of the trade of Northern Persia, has organized a whole brigade of Persian Cossacks, to which the present spendthrift monarch is said to have been indebted for his undisputed succession, has stimulated the import of Russian goods into Persia by the elaboration of a system of bounties of from 15 to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, and by the concession of special railway rates, has established in Teheran the Banque d'Escompte de Perse, which the *Times* has lately described as practically a branch of the Russian Ministry of Finance, and by repeated loans upon the security of the Customs has been placed in a position to insist upon the

* "Notes of a Journey from Kazveen to Hamadan," by J. D. Rees.

revision of the tariff in the interests of Russian trade, which has just been announced, whereby the duty on Indian tea has been increased by 95 and on cotton goods by 10 per cent. Lord Cranborne's answer as regards the former duty, to the effect that it will not prove prohibitive, because most of the Indian tea consumed in Persia is imported through Russia, needs explanation, unless different rates of duty are prescribed for Indian tea entering Persia, through Russia. At any rate, it is clear that the Russians intend to ruin the trade which has been developing overland from Quetta *via* Nushki, and Robat, to Seistan and Eastern Persia.

Russia has lent to the Shāh's Government £3,500,000, or perhaps £5,500,000, or nearly four years' revenue, on the security of the Customs (other than those of the Gulf), has acquired the right to coin Persian currency, and has paid off all British claims on the Persian Treasury, binding Persia to borrow nothing from any other Foreign Power till 1912. By these means the Russian Finance Minister has found in Northern Persia an almost exclusive market for the protected products of Russian industry, while the Foreign Office has extended its influence over the moribund Persian monarchy, the independence of which she and England have alike engaged to respect. The money borrowed has not been spent in the improvement of the material condition of the people, and popular discontent is evidenced by a recrudescence of Babism, a movement regarded as hostile to the established throne and religion, though really, as Professor Browne points out, part of "a certain circle of religious and philosophical ideas endemic in Persia, and liable at any moment, under a suitable stimulus, to become epidemic."

The result of these measures is seen in the figures (also from the *Times*), showing that, while Lord Curzon in 1889 estimated the value of British and Indian trade with Persia at £3,000,000, against a Russo-Persian trade of £2,000,000, the present (no doubt fairly accurate) returns, compiled by the Belgian Staff, which now collects Persian Customs for the Russians, shows that the Russians figure at £4,500,000,

against £2,000,000 for the British, an increase of 125 against a decrease of 33 per cent. Further, a falling-off of 40 per cent. is calculated by the *Economist* in the returns of the imports of cotton goods in 1902 into Persia, and the Belgian Customs management at Mohammera indicates an intention of obstructing the development of the Karun River route, and the use of Lynch Road to Ispahan, while it is evident that the Bakhtiari hills, and their chiefs have of late been the subjects of Russian interest.

Space does not permit me on this occasion to trace the history of English supremacy in the Persian Gulf, by which other nations have been as free to profit as we ourselves, who, after the expenditure of much blood and treasure, have confirmed to Persia and in a measure to Turkey contiguous possessions, over which their control was hardly more than nominal, while putting down piracy and maintaining peace among the tribes on both the shores of the Gulf.

In 1894 a French Consul was appointed to Muscat, wherein is no French trade and no French subject, in order to co-operate with Russia in extending her influence in the Gulf; but the subsequent attempt to gain a coaling station or naval base was defeated by the action of Lord Curzon's Government. French, German, and Russian Consuls have also been appointed in other Gulf ports, and Russian merchantmen have been heavily subsidized in the hitherto not very successful endeavour to develop a trade. Russia has taken an engagement from Persia not to allow the construction of any railways to be commenced till 1905 unless she herself begins, as she no doubt will when ready, or if Germany acquires a port in the Gulf in view of the approaching construction of the Anatolian Railway to Baghdad and Koweit. The history of the recent efforts of the Sultan to assert or reassert his authority over the latter place, which we successfully resisted, throws a flood of light upon the political conditions of the shores of the Gulf. The Sultan does not resign his shadowy sovereignty; we maintain our actual supremacy; the Sheikh continues to be situated

between the devil and the deep sea; Germany may precipitate another difficulty at any moment; and Russia, in that case, must assert her claims to an equivalent position in the Gulf. Yet there was a time not long distant when we were unchallenged in the Gulf and in a position to do almost as we pleased in Turkish Arabia, wherein our trade, now borne by Messrs. Lynch's steamers on the Tigris, will in the future have to compete with the land-borne trade of the German railway. It will also have to face all the obstacles placed by the Turkish Administration upon navigation, and the access to the Kermanshah-Hamadan-Teheran trade-route, with which is worthy to be classed the attitude of the Persian Government in respect of the navigation of the Karun, of the trade of which 95 per cent. is British. No doubt it is this unwelcome preponderance in our favour which accounts for the obstruction placed in our way by the new Belgian administration of the Persian Customs.

The future of the Persian Gulf is irrevocably bound up with the fortunes of India, and it is hardly necessary now, when this subject has so recently received the attention of Captain Mahan and other eminent writers, to enlarge upon the many and obvious proofs of a position, which is only disputed by one or two Russophiles, whose eyes nothing can open, if a mere recital of the facts before mentioned does not point to the absolute necessity of allowing no encroachment in this quarter, even at the cost of a rupture with a great Power. Such a calamity as this is, indeed, more likely to be precipitated than avoided by concessions in regard to a matter vital to our Empire. We know now, after the event, that we had better not have given away at Panjdeh, and that Russia was not ready for the fray. The Russians are already linking up the Transcaspian Railway system with the Siberian Railway on the north and with Meshed on the south, and from the whole trend of their policy it is as clear as daylight that from Meshed through Seistan towards the Gulf will be the next, if not an early, move. Such a line would just avoid the border

of British Beluchistan, and unless it is understood that the acquisition of a port on the Gulf would be equivalent to a declaration of war, it is hard to see how we can prevent its construction. Our present policy counts upon the North-West Frontier as sufficiently protected, and upon a friendly and independent Persia on the western border; but Russia, with a railway to, and a port upon, the Gulf, would turn the flank of this position, and leave India unprotected, and indeed the weaker, for the unnatural extension of her limits into Beluchistan, and for the additions to the Afghan kingdom, which the Amir only holds by our help. For these, in the case supposed, together with the Belooch border, we could not without vast expenditure fortify and hold against Russia. Whence would the funds be drawn? It would be hard, indeed, to get much more out of India, and would the British taxpayer stand another shock such as that occasioned by the South African War, the full effects of which are not yet felt in Britain? Russia, warned off Afghanistan, makes Persia her protected pensioner, and it is hardly too much to say that this ancient kingdom now stands in much the same relation to her, as Afghanistan does to the Indian Empire.

With the sole exception of the shores of the Gulf, there is no position in Persia in which the intrusion of Russia would so much embarrass us as in Seistan, and the country lying between Khorassan and the Arabian Sea. Yet nowhere is she more actively engaged. Since 1895 her Customs tariff has practically prohibited the importation of British and Indian trade into her Transcaspian Provinces through Khorassan, immediately south of which Seistan is situated. The latter district lies half-way between the point where Persia, Afghanistan, and Russia meet at Zulfikar, and the point where British Beluchistan and Persia meet upon the shores of the Gulf. It commands the all-important road from Herat to Kandahar, and it was in part as a counter move against the prohibitive Transcaspian tariff that the trade-route was opened from Quetta along the Belooch side

of the Afghan boundary to Seistan, the value of the trade of which has risen in five years from about £5,000 to £150,000, but is likely now, to the detriment of commerce in general, and the tea trade in particular, to decline to its original dimensions, if the new Russo-Persian tariff is, in spite of our diplomatic representations, maintained. If, as stated, the excellent prospects of this route as a trade artery inspired the decision to make a railway from Quetta to Nushki, it will, indeed, be doubtful whether, under present circumstances, the decision should be maintained though construction has already been commenced. The abandonment of this plan would, however, be agreeable to the Russian Government and the Russian press, which comments upon the aggressive character of this very mild measure, though the Russians keep a quarantine cordon of Cossacks on Persian territory to impede the development of British and Indian trade under the pretext of safeguarding Khorassan and Transcaspia from plague, the period of incubation of which is shorter than the minimum time required for the journey from our frontier to Turbat-i-Haideri, where the quarantine station is situated.

The following conclusions appear to be such as may be justly formed upon the facts to which such reference has been made above as time has allowed :

Firstly, that Russia altogether dominates Northern Persia, and geographically North-Western Afghanistan, and has been steadily advancing, while we have been marking time in some, and retrograding in other, quarters. She is also furnished with trained agents well acquainted with the countries, peoples, and languages with which they have to deal, while we, as Professor Vambéry and others have remarked, "feel grievously the want of men who combine a thorough knowledge of the literatures, languages, and history of Asia, with a careful practical knowledge of each people in particular, and an acquaintance with the political questions of the day." India, which should be a school for the supply of such men, is hardly more successful in this

behalf than our home educational systems. Indeed, proficiency in Oriental studies and languages is not conspicuously encouraged in our Eastern Empire.

Secondly, that Russia's methods, besides being such as proceed from a fixed, unalterable, and continuous purpose, are far more successful not only for these reasons, but because she pays equal attention to commercial and political expansion, if indeed it is possible in such regions to pursue the one, without subserving the other, end.

Thirdly, that it does not follow from the above conclusions that our Governments and Ministers have in the past necessarily been in fault. Indeed it is probable that to others than ourselves our diplomacy seems to have been most subtle and successful, for we have acquired and held all the stations necessary to a sea-power—that is to say, all the best positions in the world except Madagascar with its potentially very valuable port of Diego Suarez—with the corresponding spheres of influence inland, without incurring the expense of garrisoning large tracts of country, and if we have chosen to pay as much for our army at home as others pay for a vastly larger and more effective instrument, that is a matter of domestic politics, for except India, no other possession helps the Mother Country, in spite of the natural ties of which we have heard so much, and the lately discovered and highly extolled aspirations towards Imperial Federation. The cost of the army is the concern of the War Office, and here, at any rate, the Foreign Office has not been in fault.

Fourthly, that it is hopeless to expect that such measures as have sufficed in the past will prove equal to future needs, while the European populations seeking an outlet increase in numbers, naval States wax strong and prosper, and alliances directed against our command of the sea are made, with the result that our maritime supremacy is seriously impaired.

Fifthly, that Persia rather than Afghanistan is the danger-point at present, that measures taken now to show early that the Southern and Eastern provinces are within

our exclusive sphere of political influence are absolutely necessary, and that in order to bring this about communications from the Gulf to the cities of Arabistan, Fars, Kirman, and Seistan must be improved, that our commerce may not be killed, while the new Persian tariff should be the subject of a spirited protest, or of reprisals of the like nature, Great Britain having in her tariff an instrument of offence, though peaceful, only less potent than her fleet.

Sixthly, that the vigorous assertion of our political predominance in Southern and South-Western and South-Eastern Persia, the loss of which may easily lead to an eventual conflict with two of the greatest European Powers by sea and land, should be recognised as a proper subject for the expenditure of Imperial funds, the loss or retention of India being a matter concerning our Empire, quite as much as the Indians. The grant of a million such as is lightly passed for other purposes would work wonders, and would persuade the Persians we had not abdicated our position, which by certain outward and visible signs would appear to be the case. Nor could it be objected that such a grant was made to the financially independent India, whose borders, it must be presumed, cannot be pushed so far west as to include Persia. It would be far cheaper to give to this interest a portion of the millions lavished almost without question in South Africa, or on military schemes, in which even those who are responsible for them seem hardly to believe, than to essay to stop Russia, when she is ready, as she is not as yet, to occupy positions fatal to our financial peace in, and perhaps to our retention of, India. Already the military charges are very heavy, and until Lord Curzon formulated his tribal militia scheme, at the least, it may be said, there has been no attempt to reduce them. As one of their own poets has said in Persian :

زمین چو بیخ است و دهقان درخت
درخت ای سر باشد از بیخ سخت *

- * "Without strength in the root, what strong growth can be ;
The peasant the root is, the lord is the tree."

It is with the greatest satisfaction that all friends of India see the burdens of the poor lightened in the new Budget, but further remissions may yet be expected if the seasons prove propitious. On the other hand, the condition of the Russian peasantry is such that it may well happen that Russia will in the future be unable to pursue her present foreign policy, and the Czar's manifesto is a significant sign of the times. In order to build new, which swallow up the profits of the older, railways the people are over-taxed. Agriculture, the great Russian, as it is the great Indian, interest, has been sacrificed to artificial bounties, state monopolies, and high protective duties, whereby new industries have been forced, which are perishing for want of a home market. There has been something very like a general industrial collapse, and the shipping trade in South Russia is said to be in a very bad way in consequence of overprotection of railways. Scarcity exists in one province or another almost as often as in our Indian Empire. As Sir T. Holdich says, Russia is far from ready to proceed with her Persian Gulf programme, and a railway across Persia is still a long way off. None the less, a steel thread as far as Seistan would greatly add to our embarrassments, and the Askabad-Meshed line could apparently, without any great difficulty, and without prohibitive expense, be extended so far.

Seventhly, that our position in the East Indies, including the Gulf, requires strengthening in ships, and by the provision of a repairing yard for the navy at some point on the Indian coast, preferably Madras, the future centre of trade with the East and South, Burmah, the Straits, Java, China, Japan and Australasia. The importance of this city and seaport has much increased now that the East Coast Railway has been completed, extensions are contemplated of all the local lines, and new routes to the north through the Central Provinces, and, above all, the Anatolian-Baghdad connection is sanctioned, the natural continuation of which will be from Bombay to Madras, and onwards to

the South and the Far East. Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle and other writers have shown how erroneous is the usually received, Macaulay-made account of the conquest of India, how that was achieved not by isolated engagements on land, but by continued superiority by sea, the manner also in which alone it can in the future be maintained, now that the second sea Power is allied with the only Power with which we march by land.

Eighthly, since the defence of the coast, and of the land frontiers also depends on the navy, which must be strong enough to keep open communications and supply reinforcements, India is far more interested in the naval than in the army budget, which none the less makes perpetually increasing demands on her resources. It would not only be interesting but politic for the Government of India to make public, in some popular form, the savings effected up to date and expected, from the measures taken by Lord Curzon on the frontier. The extreme and not unnatural unpopularity among the Indians of all expenditure in this quarter will be greatly increased as it becomes more and more apparent that the forward school have perhaps been in error all through, and that the march of events, like the march of an invader, will probably leave the fortifications they have effected at such an expenditure of blood and treasure outside the real line of defence. There are, at least, two savings which might be effected in the administration—certainly in some provinces—by the more extended employment of Indians as judges and in other civil capacities, and by cutting down the annual building budget, which it is unnecessarily assumed should bear a certain proportion to other heads of expenditure. How, again, can large expenditure on local defences on the Indian coast be preferred—assuming, as they do, that Britain has lost command of the sea—to ships which can make it certain that she will never lose that command? The present Indian army cannot safely be reduced, but savings are needed for the provision of proper docks and for the

strengthening of our floating defences, as well as for remissions of onerous taxation.

Ninthly, the measures inaugurated by Lord Curzon on the frontier should be vigorously prosecuted for their financial, military, and political merits, and if he himself can be longer retained to carry his policy to completer fruition, so much the better for the public interests. Five years is but a short time in which to finish such a work. The forward party will not succumb without a struggle, and the transfer of the reins to other hands will be their occasion. The tribal levies have already shown at Bhaluh Khel, at Lundi Kotal, and elsewhere the stuff of which they are made, and it may be fairly said that no unexpected difficulties have up till the present time been experienced in respect of this novel, beneficial, and significant experiment. None so strenuously deny that theirs is a "forward policy" as those who none the less move forward, annex, civilize, assimilate, incorporate, peacefully penetrate or more or less "painlessly identify" new territories with the British Indian Empire. By their fruits, however, and by the bill shall all men know them. It is they who have sent surveyors to delimit spheres of influence in "vast sky-neighbouring mountains of milk snow," while Russia has more easily moved along the plains of "the broad and yellow Oxus."

Lastly, short shrift should be given to those who suggest concessions to Russia in the Gulf, though, even with recent experiences in China before them, there are not wanting some who would apparently concede what we should fight to a finish to prevent. Nothing will serve us like a conviction on all sides that the line must be drawn somewhere, and nothing would relieve the financial and political pressure on the Indian frontiers and elsewhere more than a very clear intimation by our deeds, not by our words, that we draw the line at the absorption of the rest of Persia.

THE CORONATION DELHI DURBAR AND ITS POLITICAL IMPORTANCE.

BY A "SPECIAL INDIAN CORRESPONDENT."

THERE is, perhaps, no nation so deliberately neglectful of ceremony as the English. Slow to abandon those moderate and by no means striking ceremonies which form part of its older institutions, it views the creation of new ones with something like suspicion, or even disdain. It is, perhaps, on this account difficult for Englishmen at large to estimate at its real value a ceremony such as the Delhi Durbar. It was an event which for a time not only attracted the undivided attention of India, but also engaged in some measure the notice of a great part of the civilized world. Yet it is not in its pageantry or its unique opportunities of great spectacular effect that its real significance lies. It has had its own meaning for the Empire at large, and for the Indian Princes and people. As to the first, the facts are so obvious that it is unnecessary to dwell on them at any length here. For the last ten years the strongest factor in English politics has been the recognition by the English people of the necessity for a policy embracing the Empire as a whole. The Coronation ceremony in London last August had its real significance in the unity of the Colonial Empire. The Delhi Durbar was a necessary corollary, exhibiting in the clearest terms India's position in the Empire and her claims on England. It is India, and not Canada or Australia, which has forced England to become an Empire. It was the struggle for India which quickened the pride and strengthened the arm of England when, after the American colonies had shaken off their allegiance, she was threatened with the narrowed horizon of the Spanish or the Dutch. And of late years India has begun to prove that she is no mere dead-weight to the Empire. Her contributions to South Africa and China prove the efficiency of her army. Her growing commerce

testifies to the abundance of her resources. She has begun to take her own place in the politics of the world, and the assembly at Delhi of the rulers and delegates of her 230 millions of people has proved to the world that we have here no disjointed collection of half-barbaric States, but an Empire in itself, with its own personality and its own memories, its own potentialities for the future.

For the Indian people themselves it has had a somewhat different, but no less strongly marked, significance. A ceremony of this nature is, in the first place, essentially a matter which their character leads them to view from another standpoint than our own. There is on their part none of that inherent distrust of pageantry which marks the English mind. It is, indeed, one of the minor ironies of our position in India that we should rule over a race which loves to surround with ceremony the commonest events of daily life. Of real show or organized spectacle there is, no doubt, but little in the India of to-day. Here and there one may see splendid raiment, a great palace, a mass of jewels—scattered traces of the fabled splendour which has rendered the East gorgeous in poetry and in fiction. But for the mass of the people the dominant note is far from being one of splendour. They are brought too closely face to face with the bare problem of subsistence. Yet to these people ceremony of every sort has a unique significance and charm. Religious and social ceremonies form for many of them the one outlet for their sense of imagination and of colour. To this sense of ceremony, of the nice observance of forms, the British rule ministers but little. It is carried on with what, to the Eastern mind, must often seem an almost indecent disregard of show and circumstance. Quite apart from any other consideration, therefore, the Durbar must have come to a great number of the Indian people as a welcome break in the even and somewhat monotonous course of our administration. The very smoothness of our administrative machinery carries with it something of danger. The traditional Government

of the East is an autocracy ; and the personality of the law-giver has always been of more importance than the law. On the other hand, our policy (whether rightly or wrongly) tends inevitably to substitute system and uniform law for personal rule. It is the function of a great ceremony like the Durbar to show that a strong and united administration has an identity of its own, not less entitled to a loyal allegiance than is the person of an autocratic Sovereign.

It is on this feature of the Durbar as a rallying-point in the course of our administration that we would lay most stress. It affords an opportunity alike to the ruling Princes and to the representatives of the people to recognise the changes and to mark the progress which have taken place in India since the Durbar held in Delhi a quarter of a century ago. The period has, in the first place, been marked by a significant change in the spirit which actuates the relations of the independent Princes with the Sovereign power. Nearly one-third of India is still under their control ; they order the lives and represent the loyalty of sixty millions of the Indian people. In the last twenty-five years the shadow of mistrust created by Lord Dalhousie's annexation policy has passed away. The Princes have been shown that the opening of communications, and the extension of education in their dominions, does not mean an invasion of their liberties, but rather a guarantee of their stability. Their troops have been freely utilized in our frontier campaigns. An honourable position in military employ has been secured to members of their families by the creation of the Imperial Cadet Corps. In a speech dated some two years back, the Viceroy struck the keynote of the new policy when he claimed the Indian Princes as his colleagues and partners in the work of administering the Indian Empire. Nor has any attempt been made to gain this end by Anglicizing the chiefs or altering their institutions. One of the most popular figures at the Durbar was that of the venerable chief of Nabha, a man entirely of the old model, but marked by a strength of character which has characterized

only the best of Indian Princes. We are not afraid of putting too great a strain on the significance of details when we point to the difference of the position occupied by the Indian Princes at the Durbar ceremony of 1877 and at that of 1903. In 1877 they sat surrounded by their own retinue, each under his own flag; and after the reading of the Proclamation one or two rose spontaneously in their places to express their congratulations to the Sovereign. In 1903 they sat with the high officials and *darbaris* of the provinces to which they are attached, and afterwards advanced to the daïs in regular order to testify openly to the Viceroy their sense of loyalty to the supreme power. In 1877 they were escorted to Delhi by bands of their irregular troops, armed and accoutred for the most part in a fashion that had changed little since the wars of the Mahrattas or the Sikhs. Since that date these bands have given way to battalions of Imperial Service troops, maintained by the States themselves, but organized and led by officers from the Indian Staff Corps. These shared, as an integral part of the Indian Army, in the review which followed the Durbar.

To the representatives of the British districts the Durbar has also afforded an opportunity of testing the progress made in the last five-and-twenty years. In some respects the period has been a critical one in the history of our rule. The growth of communications and the spread of education have extended the perceptions and quickened the ambitions of the Indian people. The critics of our administration have immensely increased; but the result has not, we believe, been to weaken the confidence of India in our rule. The Indian people have in the last decade been tested by two periods of famine, by a protracted war on our own frontier, by the shocks to our arms in Africa, and by six continuous years of pestilence. They have stood the test without showing any sign of unrest. The contest of Turkey with Greece, the annihilation of the Mahdi in the Sudan, have awakened the religious sympathies, but have not un-

settled the minds, of the Muhammadans in India. On the other hand, the advance in education and intelligence has inevitably united the Indian people in a sense unknown before. Rightly used, this growing sense of unity is a source of strength, and not of weakness, to our rule; nor was it possible to provide a more striking object-lesson than the Durbar of our determination to foster and to utilize this feeling.

The whole *mise en scène* of the Durbar ceremonies was one which the spectator will not easily forget. Six months of constant preparation had circled Delhi with a mass of scattered camps which stretched from the Gargaon road on the south to the village of Badli Serai on the north. Near the ridge was pitched the central camp, occupied by the Viceroy and the heads of the local Governments. Further off were the camps of the provincial officials and *darbaris*, intermingled with those of the ruling Princes. Over ninety independent chiefs were present, each with his own camp and body of retainers; while the military camps of the British and Indian services were occupied by an army of 34,000 troops. The roads, continually crowded with vehicles of every description, afforded a perpetual raree-show of the most opposite types of dress, of face, and demeanour. Pathans and Nepalese, Panjabis and Shans, Europeans in motor-cars and natives on elephants resplendent with howdahs and trappings—East and West, the new and the old—were mingled in interminable change of sound and colour. The ceremonies attendant on the Durbar lasted from December 29 to January 10. On the 29th the Viceroy, accompanied by the Duke of Connaught, made a state entry into Delhi. The scene was not an unfitting prelude to the pageants which followed. By a most happy choice, it had been decided that the chief actors in the procession—the Viceroy and the ruling Princes—should be mounted on elephants. Their route lay from the station round the great Jama Masjid and through the long line of the Chandni Chauk, one of the noblest of Indian bazaars.

From early dawn the streets, packed from roadway to house-tops with men in holiday attire, presented a mass of colour which only an Indian crowd can show. Shortly before mid-day the procession started on its way through the city. The great forms and stately pace of the elephants, the brilliant trappings and glittering metal of the howdahs, the turbans and jewels of the Princes, gave the pageant an Eastern character to which none of the subsequent ceremonies altogether attained. The elephants of the ruling Princes were followed by carriages containing the provincial Governors and high officials. Then followed a motley cavalcade of Baluch and Pathan chiefs, armed and accoutred in their national dress, and finally a great mass of elephants belonging to Princes and nobles who did not ride in the procession. It was not a great military display ; but it left an extraordinary impression of stately splendour and Eastern colour, not unworthy the streets of a city stored with memories of the great dynasties of the past.

On the following day the Viceroy opened the Arts Exhibition. The object of this collection was to exhibit to the Indian Princes and others the best that Indian handicrafts had produced in the past and could still produce in the present, without the aid of foreign models or influence. Some of the articles in the exhibition had come on loan from South Kensington and the collections of Indian Princes, but the greater part had been brought together from the Indian centres of industry by a special agency appointed for that purpose. In a sense, therefore, the collection was unique. It consisted entirely of articles selected for a definite purpose, and it represented in every case purely Indian art at its best. The Viceroy's opening speech contained a strong appeal to the Indian Princes to show reverence to their own past, and support Indian handicrafts to the exclusion of European. In view of the great crowds which throughout the Durbar period flocked to the exhibition, and the large purchases made by ruling chiefs, it may be hoped that the exhibition will have

some permanent effect on the encouragement of Indian arts.

The central ceremony of the Durbar took place at mid-day on January 1. The spot selected was in the centre of the plain lying between the Alipur road and the Jamna, and was the same as that at which the Durbar of 1877 had been held. Here had been erected a roofed amphitheatre, horseshoe in shape, and capable of accommodating some 10,000 spectators. The lowest tier was reserved for ruling chiefs and high officials; above them were the seats of the provincial *darbaris*, the European spectators, and the chief followers of the ruling chiefs. In the central arena was a massed band of over 1,000 performers; and looking out beyond the mouth of the horseshoe, one could discern the apparently endless ranks of an army of 34,000 men drawn up on the plain without. From the early morning the roads were crowded with lines of vehicles converging on the amphitheatre. Row after row, tier after tier, so the great white building began to fill; one realized how essentially different this assemblage was to those which mark the pageants of Europe. In and about the amphitheatre there were no shouting crowds, no packed masses of common men. In the bright air of the Indian winter every detail stood out clear and sharp—the jewels of the Princes, the rich robes of the native *darbaris*, the uniforms of the British officials. It was a great mass of colour, Eastern in its variety and magnificence, Western in its air of orderliness and restraint. The Durbar itself began with the arrival of the Viceroy, but this was preceded by an incident which seemed to many the most impressive in the whole ceremony. Headed by a band playing a triumphant march, there entered the arena a body of some 600 veterans, British and Indian, survivors of the siege of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow. In irregular formation, all of them stricken in years, and many of them of infirm and feeble gait, they moved slowly round the arena to their seats. As they entered the whole assembly rose to its feet, at first in silent homage, and then—as the full significance of the scene

became clear—broke into cheer after cheer of uncontrolled applause. They were the cheers of sympathy and respect, and not of triumph. We have heard doubts cast on the wisdom of introducing the veterans to such an assemblage, so near the spot where they had fought and conquered. But the cause of the mutineers is done with and forgotten. It was the effort of a faction only. Over the greater part of India it is known now only as the "Bengal Mutiny," and it was never the cause of a united India in the sense that there is a united India to-day.

After a few minutes' interval the Duke of Connaught, with a full escort, drove into the arena. His long residence in India has made him a well-known figure there, and the applause which greeted his arrival was a tribute not only to his position as a representative of the Royal Family, but to his own personal popularity in India. The Viceroy arrived immediately afterwards with his own escort, and with the Imperial Cadet Corps as his personal bodyguard. Mounted on black chargers, with white uniforms and turbans of light blue, the Cadet Corps formed a spot of brilliant colour even in that assembly. In the ceremony that followed the arrival of the Viceroy, the tone throughout was one of simple and dignified solemnity. The bands in the arena, with a loud fanfare, summoned the Herald to appear. An answer from the silver trumpets followed, and the Herald, a massive and gorgeous figure in his medieval garb, rode with his trumpeters into the arena. Halting before the Viceroy, he sounded another flourish, and then, turning to the assembly, read aloud the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of the King-Emperor. Another flourish from the silver trumpets, and then the Royal Standard was hoisted, the massed bands pealed forth the National Anthem, and from outside was heard the first of the cannon firing the Royal Salute of 101 guns. Twice during the long salute, and again at the end, the sound of the *feu de joie* rippled down the long lines of troops on the plain, while far off in the distance their bands one by one took up the National Anthem. As

the salute came to an end there was another flourish of trumpets, and the Viceroy rose to address the Durbar. With a dignity of language well fitted to the occasion, he made the significance of the assemblage admirably clear. There were gathered before him the rulers and the deputies of 230,000,000 souls, all animated by one feeling and subject to one Throne. "Their loyalty," he added, in a phrase that deserves to be preserved, "is not the expression of an emotion, but the record of an experience and a declaration of belief." He read a message from the King-Emperor, reaffirming the policy of equitable administration which had characterized British rule in the past, and declaring his desire that the Prince of Wales should shortly visit the country. The Viceroy then proceeded to announce the remission for three years of all interest on the loans made to Native States by the Imperial Government, and concluded his speech with an emphatic assertion of the position held by the paramount power in India. "There is no Indian problem, be it of population or education or labour or subsistence, which it is not in the power of statesmanship to solve. The solution of many is even now proceeding before our eyes. The India of the future will, under Providence, not be an India of diminishing plenty, of empty prospect, or of justifiable discontent; but one of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and the purpose of my own country; and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can this future be realized than the unchallenged supremacy of the paramount power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained than that of the British Crown."

At the conclusion of the Viceroy's speech the Herald again rode into the arena, and, cap in hand, called on the assembly to give three cheers for the King-Emperor. As these died away the troops outside took up the cheering.

and again there was heard the faint sound of their bands taking up the National Anthem one after the other in the distance. Then followed a ceremony to which allusion has already been made. One by one the ruling chiefs advanced to the daïs, and conveyed to the Viceroy their congratulations on the King's accession. More than one of these figures aroused the keenest interest of the assembly—the Nizam of Haiderabad, India's greatest feudatory; the Khan of Kelat and the Mehtar of Chitral; the Princess of Bhopal; and the strange figures of the Sawbwas of Burma, with their pagoda hats and wings of gold. When this ceremony was done there was again the National Anthem and the booming of guns, and the Durbar came to an end.

On the following day, January 2, there was no State ceremony, but a garden-party was given to the provincial *darbaris*, and at night dense crowds of natives gathered in the space between the Jama Masjid and the Fort to see the fireworks and the illumination of the city. On the following afternoon there was an assault at arms in the amphitheatre, and in the evening was held an investiture of the Indian Orders. This, which was probably the largest meeting of the Indian Orders yet convened, was attended by all the members of the Orders in Delhi, and by a number of the ruling Princes. It owed its chief interest, however, to the fact that it was held in the old Dewan-i-am of the Fort, which had been temporarily extended and lit with electric light for the purpose. The *mise en scène* in the historical building was one of great beauty and brilliance. On January 5 there was a second assault at arms in the amphitheatre, and on the following evening a state ball. This also was held in the Dewan-i-am, and was, like the investiture, a scene of brilliancy such as is seldom seen in India. On the following day (January 7) was held a review of native chiefs' retainers. This ceremony had a unique interest of its own, for it recalled an India which is now rapidly passing away. The independent chiefs, more conservative of the past than the

residents of the British districts, still maintain the retinues which accompanied the state ceremonies of medieval India. One by one there filed before the spectators bands of men in mail, bodies of fighting ascetics, camel-men in armour, warriors on stilts and warriors on elephants, *palkis* of state, umbrella-bearers and running footmen, the picturesque survivals of the pageants and campaigns of the past.

On January 8 was held a ceremonial review of all the troops in Delhi, which amounted, as has already been said, to a total of over 34,000 men. Of these an unusually large proportion were cavalry, of which there were no less than sixty-seven squadrons present at the review. On the following day a state reception was given by the Viceroy to the native chiefs, and on January 10 the ceremonies came to a close with the state departure of the Duke of Connaught and the Viceroy from Delhi. We have alluded above at any length only to those functions which seemed to give the Durbar ceremonies a distinctive character of their own, and have omitted to touch on the many events—the polo tournaments, the state dinners, the assemblage of European visitors—which tended to give them also the aspect of a great social gathering. We have tried to show that the Durbar had a political importance of its own quite apart from its social aspect, apart even from its brilliancy as a pageant. But even as a spectacle it will live long in the memory of those who saw it. Royally conceived, it was carried out with a success which will insure it a high place among the great pageants of history, and a supreme position among the great pageants of the East.

INDIAN ECONOMIC QUESTIONS : EDUCATION.

BY A NATIVE OF INDIA.*

IN my last article,[†] after describing the vagaries of the Indian monsoon of 1902, I made some remarks upon the Indian monsoon generally, to show how little reliance can be placed upon it for the future prosperity of the country, and followed them up with a few observations upon irrigation and railways in India.

In this article I propose to consider some other economic questions affecting India, and foremost of these, I think, is that of education, underlying as it does almost all other questions. Assuming for a moment that we have in India all the irrigation, all the railways, and all the other good things, for which India can possibly find any room, regardless of expense, economic progress must still suffer if the people have not the knowledge of how to make full use of their opportunities ; and this knowledge in the case of India, as in the case of every civilized and prosperous country in the world, can only come through the medium of education. The greatness of England, and of more recent years the greatness of Germany and the United States of America, is, I think, largely, if not solely, due to education, the term being accepted in its widest sense. In these days of keen competition and a fierce struggle for existence, which must necessarily increase as the years roll on, no community in the world can hope to exist, much less to prosper, without education.

The question, then, arises : What is the present state of education in India, what sort of education she needs, and how to provide it in a suitable form with due regard to the

* The writer of this article is a native of India, who has for many years rendered eminent services to the Government in the administration of Indian affairs.—ED.

† See January, 1903, pp. 79-82.

varying needs and conditions of the people, for education, like everything else, must be suited to the requirements of a people to bear good fruit. And here I may premise by saying that I wish to consider this question after my own fashion, regardless of conventionality or any established usage in connection with the subject, basing my views upon an intimate knowledge of the country and its people. I hope, therefore, the reader will forgive me if anything I have said be at variance with his views, for I write not to please or displease anybody, but solely for the good of India and the Indian people.

We have had lately, under the orders of the Government, a Universities Commission to report upon the present state of University education in India. It is a pity, I think, that a Commission was not appointed to investigate and to report upon the whole question of education in all its branches; for, while high education may be desirable for the few, we must have primary and technical educations for the many, and a limited inquiry like the one instituted by the Government has entirely excluded the question of the education of the masses in India, who are the real taxpayers of the country, and upon whose welfare and prosperity depends to a large extent the general prosperity of the country. From the statesmanlike speech made by the Parsi M.P., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, during the debate on the last Indian Budget in Parliament, it seems, however, that the Government of India is fully alive to the educational needs of the masses, and that at no distant date it is about to inaugurate a complete scheme of technical education, in which, doubtless, the needs of the masses as well as of the classes will be duly considered, and measures taken to provide for them.

I shall now consider what is the present state of education of those masses in India, who are, as a rule, agriculturists or labourers on the field, forming the rural population of the country. The answer may be given in one word, Nil. How few of those can read or write their own names!

How few can count up to a hundred! How few can tell you the year in which they were born! According to one report, about 10 per cent. of Indian youths go to school. According to another report, only about five persons in a thousand can read or write a single word of English in the Madras Presidency, where a knowledge of English is, I believe, more general than in the sister Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay. According to the last census report of the Bombay Presidency, in a total population of twenty-five and a half millions, there are no fewer than about twenty-four million illiterates—that is, they cannot read or write a single word of English, or even of their own vernacular. In this last respect the Indians, with all their boasted ancient civilization, are far behind their neighbours, the Burmans, who can, as a rule, read and write Burmese. In Burma, the “phoongees”—*i.e.*, the Burmese priests—consider it a religious duty to teach children of both sexes how to read and write. Unfortunately, this educational agency does not exist in India, though it is fair to state that their place is taken by Christian missionaries to a certain extent.

I have said before that most of these illiterates come from the agricultural and labouring classes that form the rural population, and one may naturally think that, being agriculturists, they would know something of the modern application of science to agriculture; but of this also they are, as a rule, utterly ignorant. Of the value of different kinds of soils and manures, of rotation of crops, of modern labour-saving implements, of the necessity of improving the breed of cattle by careful selection of stock, and of a hundred other things connected with agriculture, they have, as a rule, as little knowledge as they have of English or vernacular. It may be truly said of these people, though perhaps with a slight modification, what was said of the Frenchmen under the Bourbons:

“He is happy, reign whoever may,
And eats and sleeps his misery away.”

The Gaekwar of Baroda, one of the most enlightened rulers of Native States in India, at the recent opening of the Indian Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad, in an eloquent and thoughtful speech, which should be read and studied by every student of Indian economics, dwelt forcibly upon the deplorable ignorance of the masses in agricultural matters. According to this authority, the Indian soil has deteriorated to the extent of about 50 per cent. within the last century or two from want of suitable manuring. I do not know how this conclusion is arrived at, but if it is even approximately correct, it is a most serious matter for the consideration of the Indian Government.

Further, the masses in India are as ignorant of the most elementary rules of hygiene as they are of the other subjects already alluded to. It is no exaggeration to say that these ignorant masses, as a rule, live in the meanest dwellings, surrounded by dirt and filth of every conceivable kind, and this they do, not always because they cannot afford anything better, but because of their poor ideals of cleanliness and sanitation. Go to an ordinary Indian village where these people live, and you will often find a conglomeration of mud-huts, in which human beings and cattle live together practically under one roof, and where light and air seldom penetrate. Now and then you may see in the vicinity of the village a pool of water or a stream from which the people get their drinking water, with perhaps a villager polluting the water at one end, and another filling his "lotah" of drinking water not far off from the first.

Nor are the people much advanced in social matters. Torn with caste prejudices, superstition, and a narrow conservatism, which have kept them backwards for many centuries, these masses have yet to learn the evils of early marriages and over-population, or of encouraging idleness among what are called religious mendicants, a lot of lazy scoundrels who live upon charity by intimidation, and whose total number in India has now reached the appalling

figure of nearly five and a half millions, or about one-sixtieth of the total population of the country.

That such a dense mass of ignorance should exist in India after a century and more of British rule cannot, I think, be considered creditable either to the rulers or the ruled, and constitutes a serious blot upon a Government that professes—and deservedly so—to be the most enlightened and humanizing Government in the world. No doubt the masses in India are apathetic in educational matters, but what else can be expected from them? Ignorant people generally do not know what is good for them, nor must it be forgotten that these simple folks are, as a rule, very poor, and it would be charitable to believe that the best part of their time is taken up in thinking of how to get something to eat. Where millions live on the verge of starvation year in and year out, it would be against human nature to expect anything like enthusiasm over such a dry question as education. Most people will, I think, agree with me in saying that it is the duty of a civilized Government to provide suitable education for the community over which it governs. One may be pardoned, therefore, for raising the question that it is as much the apathy of the rulers as of the ruled, and a want of correct appreciation of the true educational needs of the country, that are responsible for the present backward state of education among the people.

We have lately heard many excellent speeches in India, but of what use are they when the people cannot understand them? Any Indian administrator, if he wishes to raise India in the scale of nations, will have to grapple successfully with this educational question before his wishes can be consummated. Lord Curzon is the one ideal administrator that has ever come to this country, and it is to be hoped he will do something for the education of the masses before he leaves India. The usual cry, I strongly suspect, will be raised for money. Where is the money? We all know that the Government of India can spend with

a light heart millions upon railways, irrigation, the army, the Civil Services, frontier wars or counter-raids (as it is the fashion to call them now), imposing memorials and pageants such as the world has never seen before—in short, upon anything and everything when in the counsels of Government any such expense is considered necessary. Why, then, should education, upon which the very life of a nation depends nowadays, be starved. Where there is a will there is a way. Lord George Hamilton, the present Indian Secretary of State, has told us that, in spite of recurring famines and plagues, the finances of the country are in a flourishing condition. Let us hope that some of this money will be spent on education.

If such is the present state of education among the masses, who form about four-fifths of the total population of the country, the direction in which improvement is necessary becomes obvious. It seems to me that elementary courses of instruction are necessary in the following subjects—namely, English, vernacular, arithmetic, agriculture, hygiene. There should be a primer for each subject, which should be published by the Government under expert advice. The language and the ideas conveyed in it should both be extremely simple and suitable for the child of the ignorant villages, and much will depend upon the attention paid to this point. The first subject (English) should, of course, be in English, but the remaining four subjects should, I think, be in vernacular, either Urdu, Hindi, Maharati, Gujrati, Canarese, or Tamil, according to the prevailing language of the district. The real difficulty, I believe, will be not so much to find the schoolboys as the schoolmasters, who should be very cheap and at the same time capable of imparting the necessary education. If the Government create a demand for such men, and at the same time devise means for giving them the required standard of education, the difficulty, I believe, will be solved. A good deal, of course, will depend upon the money which the Government may be prepared to spend upon this primary education of

the people. At present the Indian Government spends annually about a halfpenny per head of population on education, if the figures I have seen convey the correct information. This does not seem very great, and it would be interesting to know what other countries, like England, Germany, France, or the United States of America, spend on the education of those countries.

Primary education should be made compulsory in India if need be, and if at present only about 10 per cent. of Indian youths go to school, the aim of the Government should be that cent. per cent. go in the future, and if—say within the next twenty or thirty years—every village school-boy at the age of fifteen has learnt how to read and write a little simple English and vernacular, with simple arithmetic up to the rule of three, and if at the same time he has learnt something of the elements of agriculture and hygiene, the Government of India might well be congratulated on its success in piercing the dense mass of ignorance which prevails at present.

But if the picture I have drawn of primary education in India is somewhat gloomy, I have, on the other hand, nothing but praise to bestow upon the Government of this country for the success it has achieved in imparting high education to the rich and middle classes. One cannot, I think, be too emphatic in saying that high education in India has been a success. There may be flaws in the system and doubtless there are flaws ; but few human institutions are perfect, and a few flaws cannot alter their merits as a whole. Fifty years ago such a thing as an educated Indian—*i.e.*, one possessing a high English education—was a rarity. To-day we have distinguished members of Parliament from among Indians, eminent scientists, barristers, solicitors, pleaders, doctors, engineers, professors, school-masters, journalists, and a host of others, all doing good work for their country. Who can say, after this, that high education in India is a mistake, or that it has failed ? The young sapling of fifty years ago has now taken root and

grown into a vigorous tree, full of promise for the future, and all that is necessary now is a little pruning here, and a little weeding and manuring there, to make it a stronger and a more fruitful tree. If I may refer to some of the flaws in the system of the higher education in India, the one main defect seems to me to be that sufficient attention is not always paid to moral and social training, as judged by the European standard. In England and other civilized European countries moral and social training begin at an early age in the home and in their places of worship. The child of tender years receives no small moral training while yet on the mother's knee or in the nursery. This home education, which is the foundation of all education in maturer years, is, as a rule, entirely absent in India, and this is so for two reasons : (1) child marriages and early maternity ; (2) absence of female education. The result is that, even among well-to-do and respectable Indian families, the mothers, being, as a rule, uneducated, cannot impart any moral or social training to their children, and until female education becomes more general in India than it is at present, and young mothers, whether Hindoo, Mohammedan, or Parsi, receive the training of their European sisters, it is difficult to see how this great defect will be remedied. Then, again, such things as nurseries, nursery governesses, and nursery education are practically unknown even among the richer classes, who can afford such luxuries, or, more correctly speaking, necessities. Finally, in Christian countries little children of both sexes are made to attend their places of worship almost as soon as they can toddle, and here, while the mind is yet as impressionable as wax, they learn a summary of religious doctrine, wherein is embodied all the moral training that the average person requires in life. Now, I have nothing to say against any man's religion in India, believing, as I do, that the essence of every religion is the same ; but this I must reluctantly say, that Indian children cannot and do not receive any moral training from their Churches in the same way as

European children receive in Christian Churches. And the reason is not far to seek. The language of the sacred writings of the Hindoos is Sanskrit, of the Mohammedans is Arabic, and of the Parsis is Zend, and are all dead languages which the laity cannot understand. Imagine for a moment how English Church education would lose its value if the services were rendered in Hebrew or Greek, and the parallel will be nearly complete. The profound truths and lofty conceptions of life contained in the Shastras of the Hindoos and other sacred writings of the East are practically a sealed book to the Indian people, young and old, and their beauty is known only to those who, like the savants, make a special study of them. Thus poorly equipped with moral, social, or spiritual training in early life, Indian youths go to English schools, and later on to English colleges, where such training is, as a rule, carefully eliminated from the curricula of studies, and the final product is often curious, judged by the European standard. Thus, you must not be surprised if you come across an Indian B.A. or M.A., even after he has been to England and has finished his education there, feeling ill at ease in English society, unable to talk on any subject for five minutes, and without that knowledge of social etiquette which, I think, is as essential for Indians, in their intercourse with European officials and non-officials in this country, as a knowledge of all the "onomies" and "ologies" combined. The fault here lies not so much with the Indian youth, the victim of circumstances, as with the system of English education in India, and here, again, it seems to me that the time has arrived in the educational history of this country when suitable moral, social, and spiritual training in English schools and colleges in India should be made compulsory for Indian youths aspiring after a high English education, which cannot be complete without such training ; while it should be possible, I think, to do this without introducing anything of a controversial

nature in the curricula of studies, which might hurt the sentiments of the Indian people.

Another great defect in Indian education is, that the teachers and the students, whether in schools or colleges, do not, as a rule, see much of each other. The moral influence of teachers upon students must at all times be great, but for this it is necessary that both should live under the same roof, and should meet and converse, not only during the hours of work, but also during the hours of rest and recreation. These conditions do not, as a rule, obtain in India, and their absence is a serious defect in the educational machinery of the country. I do hope that the results of the Universities Commission of Lord Curzon will seriously overcome these defects.

The question of instruction in science, languages, hygiene, and physical training deserves some consideration in this place. To be brief, science should be taught, not only theoretically, but also practically, with the aid of experiments and demonstrations in the laboratory, anything like cramming, so common in India, being avoided. I have said before that the greatness of England and other countries has been largely, if not solely, due to education, and I should like to emphasize the fact by saying that a scientific education has been mainly instrumental in that greatness. A fairly good knowledge of chemistry, economic botany, geology, and mineralogy should, I think, be possessed by every Indian student aspiring after high education, and these subjects might, I think, be made compulsory with advantage in the F.A. and B.A. courses of Indian Universities; and if the time at present allowed for those courses be not long enough, it should be made longer. As regards languages, every Indian student should be made to learn Latin, it being a great help to the study of English. In addition he should learn French and other languages, if he has any intention of being a merchant. A knowledge of English and French will carry a man through almost any part of the civilized world. Finally, a course of hygiene

and a course of physical training should be made compulsory in all English schools and colleges in India. No man has a right to be considered educated until he understands the laws of health. We have plague and enteric fever claiming their victims by thousands, and still there is no education more neglected in India than that of hygiene.

I shall now consider the subjects of technical, commercial, and political educations. As regards technical education, it can scarcely be disputed that it is as necessary for India as it is for any other civilized country. The material wealth of a country depends nowadays almost entirely upon the commerce and industries of that country, and these, in their turn, depend to no small extent upon technical education. The new school of technology which the Prime Minister of England opened at Manchester last year shows the great value and importance which the people of Great Britain attach to technical education in that country. The building, which is reported to be six stories high, and has cost the magnificent sum of £300,000, is considered by experts to be the finest school of its kind in the United Kingdom. The greatest attention is likewise paid to this form of education in Germany, a country which is going forwards in commerce and industries in a truly marvellous fashion, judging by the report of Mr. Gastrell, England's Commercial Attaché at Berlin, on the economic position of Germany in 1900, a document which should be studied by every Indian economist. As I have said before, the Government of India, it seems, is committed to a complete scheme of technical education. But I feel it my duty to warn the Government that, unless it creates a demand for technical skill, and can devise means to employ at least a certain proportion of the men that may receive such training, any comprehensive scheme it may have in contemplation, and on which it may spend millions of public money, will probably be fruitless. The question of supply and demand is peculiarly important in India, where the people look entirely to Government for support, and where

there is, so far at least, little to hope for from the public spirit and patriotism of the people themselves. Look at the fate of the old art industries of India. Why is it that these industries are nearly extinct? The answer is very simple—there is no demand for them. Lord Curzon, as a sympathetic administrator, has made desperate efforts ever since he arrived in this country to revive these dying industries. I must confess I have some doubts as to the success of those efforts, laudable as they are. Let us take another instance, trivial as it may seem. There is an industrial school at Lucknow, in the United Provinces, the population of which is reckoned at nearly 48,000,000. From a recent report, it seems that the number of pupils at this school during the year 1901-02 was 59, against 155 in the preceding year, being a decrease of 96 in the course of a year; and as there is no similar school that I know of in these provinces, it shows that there were just 59 students in 48,000,000 who were desirous of technical education. The plain fact of the matter is, that in India the people do not acquire any sort of education for education's sake, and, in common fairness, you cannot blame them for it. How can you expect a man to love education when he wants a piece of bread, and finds that the particular education he would like to have does not give it? We must take human nature as we find it. The instinct of self-preservation is as strong in India as it is elsewhere, and no one, I hope, will ever seriously contend that it should be otherwise. Unless, therefore, the Government of India can create a demand for technical skill and become a sort of general employer for it, there will be, I think, some danger of technological institutes dying out from inanition. True enough, there are Indian capitalists who should be able to find room in India for the employment of skilled labour, but with the brilliant exception of Mr. Tata, the Parsi millionaire of Bombay, who is doing all that, humanly speaking, is possible for one man to do in a lifetime for his country, and, perhaps, with the exception of a dozen more

like this Indian Carnegie, who study their country's needs, the majority of Indian capitalists have yet to learn how to organize capital and labour, and how to invest their money for their own good, and at the same time for their country's good. As to foreign capitalists, much as they have done for India in the past, and much as they may do in the future, they cannot, I think, do all ; and that is so for two reasons. The first reason is, that for the material regeneration of India we want Indian, and not foreign, capital ; the second is, that foreign capital is required very largely at present for other young and rising countries, so that, if India is going to depend upon that capital, she must be content to take her share. What foreign capitalist would sweat in India amidst a people with whom he has little sympathy, and but little in common, when there are such fine countries in the world as America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and last, but not least, the " United States " of South Africa, with their genial climate and surroundings, where money makes money so easily and so rapidly ? No ; if there is to be a material regeneration of India, that regeneration must come from the people of India themselves. I have said enough to show that the Government of India, before it commits itself to any large scheme of technical education, will have carefully to consider how it is going to utilize the product of that education. But the reader must not think I am either averse to technical education, or that I despair of its success. There are already some bright rays on its horizon, and the Government of India, if it so wishes it, can, I believe, find many avenues for the employment of technical skill in India. All that is necessary for success, I think, is to see what avenues exist at present, and what new ones could be created with advantage to the country. It would be out of place to enter here on a general dissertation of this aspect of the question, nor is it necessary to dilate upon what must be obvious to the Government and its expert advisers. As a non-expert I may be pardoned, however,

for suggesting that technical education in electric and sanitary engineering should be given the first place in any scheme, for I believe it is in these directions that technical education will bear the most practical and substantial results. Just think of electric railways, electric tramways, electric harnessing of Indian rivers for supplying the motive power for various industries, electric lighting of streets, public and private houses, electric punkahs and therm-antidotes, as they are called, for Tommy Atkins in hospitals, in barracks, as also in offices and other public or private buildings, and you may conjure up a vision in which you may see thousands of Indians earning their bread by honest labour, and thus relieving that pressure upon the soil which is largely responsible for the present unsatisfactory economic condition, to which it is a happy augury, I think, that the attention of some of the best men, both in India and in England, has been so powerfully drawn within the last few years. I may refer here to the excellent lecture in connection with this subject, given lately at Madras by Mr. Natesan, B.A., the editor of the *Indian Review*, on the industrial development of India. One may cordially endorse the lecturer's views, and commend them to the notice of the Government and the public as being well worthy of consideration. I may also refer here to the last report of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay. Though the institute is as yet in its infancy, its last report is highly satisfactory, showing steady progress in all directions except, unfortunately, the one of funds. Lord Northcote, the present Governor of Bombay, who presided on the occasion of distributing the prizes to the successful students of the institute last year, observed that the number of students seeking entrance was greater than what the institute could comfortably accommodate or efficiently train, and that most of those who had passed out of the institute were now reaping the fruits of their labours by earning a respectable livelihood. This must be gratifying to all interested in the success of technical education, while it is

still more gratifying to know that the institute has recently widened its scope by opening a new department for the study of electric engineering—a step in the right direction. Let us hope that the institute will soon be a great centre for the dissemination of technical education in all its manifold branches, an institute worthy of the best traditions of Bombay, and an object-lesson to the sister Presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Lastly, I may be permitted to refer here to the magnificent donation of £200,000 offered by Mr. Tata of Bombay, of whom I have previously spoken, for a post-graduate Research Institute for India. It is now some three or four years since the offer was first made to the Government, and it is to be regretted that the Government has not been able to come to any decision as yet in the matter. Looking to the present position of education in India, I am not sure that the time has arrived for such an institute. It would probably be more profitable, I think, to spend this money on technical education after the Indian matriculation course, with the proviso I have already laid some stress upon—namely, that, before supplying any kind of technical education, you should create a reasonable demand for it to insure success.

I now come to the subject of commercial education, which, properly speaking, is a form of technical education, though it is necessary, I think, to say a few words separately of it. In a restricted sense, commercial education would mean a knowledge of book-keeping and tradesmen's ledgers. I do not know what facilities exist in India for such education in the Presidency towns, but there is a School of Commerce at Calicut in the Madras Presidency, a Government school started in 1895, and at present under an Indian headmaster, which is doing useful work. Up to the date of the last report, 154 students had passed out of the school, and of these no less than 144 had found profitable employment under the Government, or in Native States, or under private employers, showing the need for such useful institutions in other parts of the country. But if commercial

education has a restricted sense, it has also a higher and wider significance, in which it is not easy to draw a clear line of demarcation between it and the general education of a man of the world. To put it in other words, every kind of education has some bearing on commercial education. Thus, I think it cannot be called complete without some knowledge of scientific and technical education, and that general knowledge of the world which comes, not so much by the reading of books, as by travelling or "globe-trotting," as it is somewhat irreverently called. If, therefore, any Indian wishes to engage in commerce, I would advise him not only to learn book-keeping—although it is very necessary, of course—but also to pay special attention to languages and to travelling. If he is going to deal with Western countries, a study of French and German, in addition, of course, to English, would be necessary; if dealing with Eastern countries, he must learn Eastern languages. There is a wide field for trade with Burma, China, Japan, and Persia, and the merchant should learn the languages of those countries, according to the field of his work. But, above all, Indian merchants should study the trade statistics of their own country, and see what articles their country needs and how to supply them. I have heard it said that, among Indians, those who have money have no brains, as a rule, and that those who have brains have no money. There are exceptions to every rule, and here and there you may come across men like Mr. Tata, but I feel compelled to say that the above is no idle conundrum, but a deplorable reality, which explains why most of the large and paying concerns in India are run with foreign and not Indian capital. With the almost solitary exception of cotton-mills—and these are not very flourishing at present—the great industries and commerce of India are in the hands of foreign capitalists, who make their fortune and then return to their country to enjoy it. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji complains in season and out of season of poverty and un-British rule in India. Mr. Naoroji is a highly educated Indian, and I

have a great respect and sympathy for his efforts in the cause of his country. No patriotic person, be he an Englishman or an Indian, can help admiring his efforts. But if the intention is good the execution is not a little faulty, and, speaking with due deference, I feel bound to say that Mr. Naoroji does not seem to have mastered the whole field of Indian economics. Is it the fault of foreign capitalists that they come to India and amass fortunes in India? Or is it the fault of the Indian Government that Indian capitalists either bury their money in the ground or do not invest it in commerce and industries, upon which the wealth and material prosperity of a country depend so largely nowadays? Whatever may be the faults of the Indian Government—and a Government is a human institution—Mr. Naoroji and others of his way of thinking should know that India is a free country where Indian and foreign capitalists all stand on an equal footing, and can compete on equal terms in the pursuit of commerce. Mr. Naoroji might retort by saying there is very little Indian capital. To which my answer is, that much and little are mere relative terms, and that, admitting there is little Indian capital, there is no reason why the little should not be utilized for the country's good. India on the whole is a poor country. No one denies it. But even in India there are some rich men, very rich men, who do not make a proper use of their money, though it is fair to state that in the majority of instances this sin of omission is the result of ignorance, and ignorance alone. Not long ago the Chief of Rajghar, in the Bhopal State, died, and just before his death he is reported to have informed the British Resident that he had some seventeen lacs of rupees buried in a certain place near his palace, and this money must have lain buried for many years. It is for this reason, I think, that a course of commercial education is necessary for the sons of Rajahs, chiefs, noblemen, and other men of wealth, and it is for the Government and the public to see how such education can be suitably provided. In Japan there is an International

Society of Merchants, composed of influential and wealthy men of the country, who form a powerful and visible link between the Government and the people for the spread and encouragement of commercial education, and with good results. It is melancholy to think that no corresponding society of Indian merchants exists for India, although the country is some thirty times larger than Japan. I may refer here to a pamphlet called "Wealth in India," published lately by Mr. Reginald Murray, of the Commercial Bank of India. It is a veritable mine of information, which could be read, if not digested, in a few minutes, and I would advise all Indian economists to read it.

I shall now conclude with a few words on political education. If the object of such education be a knowledge of the science and art of government, it would seem at first sight that there is no need for it in India, which is not a self-governing country, and where the people have very little voice in the administration of their country. But, on further consideration, this would seem to be a narrow view to take of the subject. For if the Indian people cannot, or do not, govern their own country, they can at least help an alien Government in many ways to govern it, and a knowledge of how to give that help can come through political education. For all harmonious Governments it is necessary that the rulers and the ruled should thoroughly understand each other. The Government should know what the people require; the people should know what the Government is doing for them. Without mutual confidence there arises much misunderstanding. This sort of education can only be obtained through the medium of the public press. This press has a great civilizing mission to perform in every country. Who can doubt its power? It is to the public press of India, then, that Indians should look for their political education. The growth of this press will depend upon the growth of public opinion, which as yet is small, though doubtless advancing, and public opinion in its turn will depend upon education.

Such is a brief survey of the present position of education in India. It is a momentous question upon which will depend largely the future of the country. It is the survey, however, of an ordinary layman, not of the expert on education, and as such, it must be liable to errors and imperfections, which I hope the reader will kindly overlook.

INDIAN TAXATION.

BY SIR CHARLES A. ROE.

So much has of late been written on the subject of Indian Taxation that the appearance of these words at the head of a paper is more calculated to repel than to attract the reader. He will feel that his position is like that of the modern student of history, who is called on to unlearn, or to reject as false, all that he was taught in his youth. In the years which followed the assumption of the direct government of India by the Crown the favourite text of the preacher was the blessing conferred on India by British rule. We were told that it had not only established universal peace, but that it had also greatly raised the moral and material condition of the people, and that it was developing the resources of the country in every direction. Now we are told, by men who claim a special right to speak for the people—men who are either natives of India, or who have served or resided in, or even visited, the country—that all this is a mistake; our universal peace is little better than an universal tyranny—*solitudinum faciunt, pacem, appellat*—our development of the country is mere “exploitation” for the benefit of British traders and capitalists; and the people generally, instead of being raised, are crushed by a burden of taxation which, if it is not the direct cause of famines, greatly aggravates their effects. Englishmen at home may well ask in bewilderment which of these two pictures is the true one; and if it is the last, how can such a state of things be remedied? It might, perhaps, be the wisest and simplest course to leave the answer to those best qualified to give it—to England’s trusted agents in India, to whom has been committed the task of government. But those who put forward the pessimist view of the condition of India will not permit the stay-at-home Englishman to take this course; they will insist on his giving the answer himself. He will be best able to do this

if, instead of allowing his feelings to be worked on by rhetoric on either side, he calmly and carefully examines the actual facts. It is the object of this paper to place these before him in as concise and simple a manner as possible.

The first fact to be mastered is the true nature of Indian taxation. This is fully set forth in the appendices to the Budget statement laid before the Legislative Council of India in March last. These show that the revenue of £74,370,400 estimated for the financial year 1902-1903 is made up of the following details :

			£	£
1. Land Revenue	...	...	17,790,100	
2. Opium	...	...	4,229,000	
3. Salt	...	...	5,973,300	
4. Stamps	...	...	3,478,100	
5. Excise	...	...	4,120,300	
6. Provincial Rates	...	...	2,734,500	
7. Customs	...	...	3,600,000	
8. Assessed Taxes	...	...	1,364,500	
9. Forests	...	...	1,290,400	
10. Registration...	...	...	313,200	
11. Tributes from Native States			607,000	
Total of above			...	45,500,400
12. Interest	...	...	...	764,200
13. Post Office	...	...	...	1,377,100
14. Telegraph	...	...	...	831,400
15. Mint...	...	...	...	66,200

Receipts by Civil Departments.

16. Law and Justice—				
Courts	...	...	239,900	
Gaols	...	...	248,400	
17. Police	...	...	290,900	
18. Marine	...	...	136,200	
19. Education	...	...	173,000	
20. Medical	...	...	72,300	
21. Scientific and other Departments	...	...	104,000	

Total of Civil Departments 1,264,700

<i>Miscellaneous.</i>			£	£
22. Superannuation	...	...	191,000	
23. Stationery and Printing	...	...	61,800	
24. Exchange	...	...
25. Miscellaneous	...	...	320,400	
Total Miscellaneous			...	573,200

<i>Railways.</i>				
26. State Railways	...	...	18,916,900	
27. Guaranteed Companies	...	...	993,400	
28. Subsidized Companies	...	...	39,100	
Total Railways			...	19,949,400

<i>Irrigation.</i>				
29. Major Works : Direct Re-				
ceipts	...	...	1,714,900	
Portion of Land Revenue				
due to Irrigation	...	...	838,900	
30. Minor Works and Navigation			142,900	
Total Irrigation			...	2,696,700

<i>Other Public Works.</i>				
31. Military Works	...	...	36,100	
32. Civil Works...	...	...	421,800	
Total other Public Works			...	457,900

<i>Receipts by Military Department.</i>				
33. Army : Effective	...	...	802,000	
Non-Effective	...	...	87,200	
Total Receipts by Military Depart-				
ment	...	...	...	889,200
Grand Total			...	£74,370,400

It is clear that none of the revenue classed under the heads No. 12 to the end of the above table can properly be

called taxation ; it merely represents the income earned by the Government in business carried on by itself, or derived from capital which it has expended, and the same may be said of some of the items, such as forests and registration, included in the first eleven heads, which yield a total of £45,500,400. The only sources of revenue which can be called taxation proper are : (1) the Land Revenue and the contingent Provincial Rates, (2) Opium, (3) Salt, (4) Stamps, (5) Excise, (6) Customs, (7) Assessed Taxes. The land revenue is so important that I will postpone it for the present, and proceed to consider the other heads. Of the opium revenue the English public has already heard more than enough, and it has had to pay £200,000 for the cost of the Commission which the Government was driven, by the agitation of the anti-opium crusaders, to send to India. Perhaps the money was well spent, for since the publication of the Commission's Report the agitation has subsided. But even when it was at its height no one ever alleged that the tax on opium, or rather the Government monopoly for the production and sale of the drug, laid an undue burden on the people of India. The outcry against it was based on its alleged immorality ; it was a sin and a disgrace to make a profit out of a trade which was doing immeasurable harm to the people. The outcry was precisely similar to that against the liquor traffic at home, and those who raised it desired, not the abolition of the tax, but the total suppression of the trade itself. It may be added that, whatever may be the nature of the opium revenue, the greater portion of it is contributed, not by the people of India, but by the people of the countries to which the opium is exported.

The salt revenue, amounting approximately to six millions sterling, is undoubtedly a tax, and it is a tax on a necessary of life to which rich and poor have to contribute individually almost the same amount. It is, therefore, not surprising that it should be denounced by those who regard the people of India as overburdened with taxation, and even Sir Henry Fowler, in the debate on the Indian Budget in

the House of Commons on November 10 last, urged that a portion of the surplus of the past financial year should have been devoted to the abolition, or reduction, of this tax. But it may be fairly urged in defence of the tax that it is the only one which a native of India who does not own land, and whose income is less than Rs. 500 a year, is really compelled to pay. The mode of levying the tax is the least oppressive that could be devised. The salt mines are absolutely the property of Government, which has a monopoly of the salt supply, and sells the salt to traders at a price sufficient merely to cover the cost of production and the duty of Rs. 2 as. 8 per maund. Taking the rupee at 1s. 4d., and the maund at eighty-two pounds, the tax thus amounts to just under a halfpenny per pound. The salt tax is one of the very few taxes the incidence of which per head of the population can be worked out with any useful result. Taking the tax at six million pounds, and the population at 300 millions, the incidence would be £1 for every fifty persons, or a little under 5d. per head. This cannot be called excessive, and the people themselves certainly do not complain of the tax. The outcry against it comes partly from those who, professing to speak on their behalf, represent them as crushed by every tax, and partly—and, indeed, chiefly—from those English politicians who find a charge of “taxing the food of the working man” a most useful weapon against their opponents, and do not hesitate, in putting it forward, to make use of unscrupulous misrepresentation. As stated by Lord George Hamilton in the debate already referred to, the question of the salt tax was fully considered by the Government of India in consultation with the various Local Governments. The conclusion arrived at was that, whilst even the total abolition of the tax would hardly confer any real benefit on the poorer classes, to fritter away a million or two in reducing its rate by one-sixth or one-third would be absolutely useless. It is quite certain that the Government of India cannot afford the loss of even one million a year, and if any new tax were

to be substituted for the salt tax, its burden on the people would be far more grievous.

To the income derived from stamps no objection has ever been raised. No doubt the charge must be classed as a tax, but it is one which falls only on the comparatively well-to-do, and even these receive a direct return for their money in the shape of the additional security which stamps give to their business transactions. This form of taxation is regarded as legitimate, and even commendable, in all civilized countries.

The Excise revenue consists entirely of the price paid for licenses, or monopolies, for the sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs. The systems in force vary in different parts of India, and exception, founded or unfounded, has been taken to the working of these systems in some localities. Earl Percy gave a very complete answer to that taken with regard to Assam. But no one has ever advocated Free Trade in intoxicants, either in India or in England, and a heavy Excise duty is far more defensible in the former than in the latter country. Drinking is a sin in the eyes of both Hindus and Mohammedans, and no kind of intoxicating liquor can be regarded as an habitual drink of the people, or the sole luxury or comfort of the poor.

The Customs revenue for the current year is estimated at £3,600,000. Although, as observed by Lord George Hamilton in explaining the Indian Budget to the House of Commons, the increase under certain heads of Customs may be regarded as proof of an increased prosperity and spending power among the poorer classes, it cannot be said that any of the duties imposed are a tax on the necessities of life. These classes may—and probably the majority of them do—pass through life without purchasing a single article which has paid duty. The demand for the abolition or reduction of some of the duties, and more especially the cotton duties, though nominally made in the interests of India, is really made on behalf of British manufacturers, who desire a larger market for their goods.

“Assessed taxes” is merely another name for the income tax. This is not levied on agriculturists or on non-agriculturists whose incomes are less than Rs. 500 a year. This limit, equivalent to £30 or £40 a year, may sound a very low one to English ears, but in its purchasing power, and the general social position of those who enjoy it, it may be fairly taken as equal to an income of £300 or £400 a year in England. Non-official payers of income tax are divided into broad classes, the lowest consisting of those whose incomes range from Rs. 500 to Rs. 750 a year, the next of those whose incomes are from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000, the rest of those whose incomes are above Rs. 1,000. The individuals in each class pay the tax not on their exact incomes, but on the minimum for the class. The rate of the tax for the lowest class—I believe for the two lowest—is 4 pie per rupee, or 5d. in the £, just one-third of the present rate in England. Even on the higher incomes the rate is only 5 pie per rupee, or 6½d. in the £. The tax certainly does not touch the really poor, and I do not think that the limit of Rs. 500 would be too low if we could be suré that no incomes below this limit were taxed. But it is notoriously difficult, in fact, almost impossible, to make even an approximate estimate of the income of Indian traders, especially the smaller ones. The original assessment of the tax is necessarily left to subordinate officers, and there is reason to fear that over-zeal for the Government, or for their own reputation, leads them to include in the list of taxpayers persons who ought to be exempted. It is true that any person objecting to his assessment may appeal to a superior European officer and produce his books in order to show that his income is less than the estimate, but, as a rule, neither the European nor anyone else can understand the books, and the objector will probably find that the result of his appeal is only a further loss of time and money. Nor are even the superior European officers entirely free from blame. Some of them are apt to take what they call “broad views,” to regard a town or large

tract of country as a whole, and to assume that it must contain a certain number of persons who should pay income tax, and they put pressure on their subordinates to work up to their estimates. When the Budget was discussed in Council in March last, the difficulty of assessing the lower classes of incomes, and the severity with which the tax pressed on the lower clerks in offices and other persons with small fixed incomes, was pointed out; and it was urged that as the figures for 1899-1900 showed that, whilst the persons included in the two lowest classes were more than three-fifths of the whole of the income taxpayers, they paid less than one-fifth of the tax, the limit should be raised to Rs. 1,000 a year. The Secretary, Sir E. Law, admitted that these objections deserved consideration, and held out the hope that they would receive it at some future date.

I have considered in detail the various sources of revenue which can properly be called taxes, and I will now come to the most important of all, the land revenue. It is sometimes said that this should be regarded rather as "rent" than as a tax. I think myself that it is undoubtedly a tax, and has always been so, but to give my reasons for this opinion would require almost a separate essay, and the point is of no practical importance. The right of the ruling power to a share of the produce of the soil is universal throughout the East, and has existed from time immemorial. The account of its origin in Egypt, given in Gen. xlvii., represents Joseph as foreseeing a famine, and accumulating large stores of corn, with which he acquired for Pharaoh, firstly all the cash, then all the cattle, and finally the bodies and lands of the people; but he gave them back the land on condition that they paid a fifth part of the produce to the State. "And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's." The policy of Joseph is hardly in accordance with the rules laid down by the Government of India for the relief of famine at the present day, although it is said

to have evoked the deepest gratitude from the Egyptians. It is, however, probable that even before the time of Joseph the State had some right to share in the produce, and that he merely took advantage of the famine to place the collection of the land revenue on a satisfactory footing. But whatever the real facts may have been, the story itself is sufficient to show that the right of the State in Egypt to receive one-fifth of the produce of the soil was regarded as indisputable.

Of the origin of this right in India there is not even a legend. The idea that it was in any way connected with the "Jezzia," or poll-tax, imposed by the Mohammedans upon infidels, is wholly unfounded. The right existed long before the Mohammedan Conquest, and is recognised in the laws of Manu. The Emperor Akbar introduced many reforms into the revenue system, and is said to have fixed the Government share of the produce at one-fifth. In the earliest times the State collected its revenue (or, rather, its share of the grain crops, for cash rates per acre were always charged for the superior crops, such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton) in kind, and stored it in State granaries, much as Joseph is said to have done. It has been asked why we did not continue, or why we should not revert to, the old native system. The first answer is : Because of our old enemy, "Original Sin," the microbe of which flourishes with special vigour in the organizations of both the collectors and the payers of taxes. If the cultivator would honestly set aside the Government share of the produce, and if the collector would make no attempt to take more than this share, much might be said in favour of this plan. But this ideal state of things has never existed in fact. The State so distrusted the honesty of the cultivator that it did not allow him to reap his crop at all, or, at any rate, to remove it from his fields, until it had been seen and valued by an official, who would seldom move until he had been bribed, and his estimate of the Government share or its value was a very elastic one. The upshot was that

the cultivator had to satisfy the demands of the official, however oppressive, or see his whole crop ruined. But even if both payers and collectors were moderately honest, it would be obviously impossible for the State to keep a debtor and creditor account with the individual cultivators of petty holdings throughout a whole country, and native Governments never attempted to do so. Throughout Northern India, and, I believe, originally in Bengal, the land was held by peasant proprietors forming village communities, bound together by the tie of common descent, real or imagined, and jointly responsible to Government in all matters. It was on these communities that the land revenue was assessed; the share theoretically due from each cultivator was lost sight of, and the only limit to the Government demand was the power of the community to pay. Then the further abuse grew up of farming out the collection of these village assessments, or even of whole districts, to contractors, and this was the state of things we found existing in Bengal when we first took over the direct collection of the land revenue in that province.

Those who desire to go fully into the question of the Indian land revenue cannot do better than carefully study a Blue-Book presented to both Houses of Parliament during the present year. The subject is of such importance both to the finances of India and to the well-being of the people that it has received the constant attention of the Government for the past century, and it has of late years formed the ground of many attacks by hostile critics. In 1900 Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., formerly Acting Commissioner of Burdwan, addressed to the Viceroy a series of open letters, which he afterwards published in the form of a book; and about the same time a memorial, signed by certain retired officers of the Indian Civil Service, was forwarded by the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy for his consideration. As the letters and the memorial contained certain allegations of fact regarding the working of the revenue system in various parts of

India, they were referred to Local Governments for consideration and report. The replies of the Local Governments are given in full in the Blue-Book, and in the opinion of the Government of India they show conclusively that these allegations are either wholly unfounded, or are based on imperfect information, or a misapprehension of the true facts.

The history of the land revenue under British rule shows that the share of the produce which should be assumed to belong to the State, and be taken by the Settlement Officer as the basis of his assessment, has been gradually decreasing, and has varied according to the rights and position of the persons with whom the settlement has been made. When the Permanent Settlement was made in Bengal with men who were really mere farmers of the revenue, it was provided by Regulation 2 of 1793 that the Government share should be fixed by estimating the rents paid by the tenants, deducting therefrom the cost of collection, allowing to the so-called landlords one-eleventh of the remainder as their share, and appropriating the balance, or ten-elevenths, as the share of the State. In the North-West Provinces, where we made the settlement with real landlords, we took as the basis of our calculations the net assets of the estate—that is, the rents actually paid to the landlords by their tenants, and the rents which it might be reasonably assumed would be paid for the lands cultivated by the proprietors themselves if these were let to tenants. Of these net assets the share to be taken by Government was fixed at two-thirds, which was reduced to one-half by what are known as the Saharunpur Rules, passed in 1855, when the district of that name came under settlement. A similar standard was fixed for the Punjab and for most of the other parts of India, which were settled subsequently.

But, as pointed out by the Government of India, all these estimates and standards were intended only as general guides to the Settlement Officer, and not as definite orders laying down a hard-and-fast rule for the assessment of

every estate. In fixing his assessment the Settlement Officer has to take into consideration many things besides mere paper calculations of the value of the assumed Government share of the rental or gross produce. In what is known as the "Village Note-Book" is recorded all available information bearing on the past history of the village and the working of its previous assessments. But far more important than all this paper information is the personal knowledge acquired by the Settlement Officer himself; he is in camp throughout the greater part of the year, visiting every village, mixing freely with the people, listening to their complaints, and forming his own judgment as to their real condition. It is on this judgment, and not on exact mathematical calculations, that his assessment is finally based. If he finds that the condition of the people is good, if the existing assessment has been paid without difficulty, he does not reduce it even if, as is very rarely the case, it is in excess of some paper standard. On the other hand, if the village is in bad condition, if the existing assessment has been found oppressive, he does not hesitate to reduce it, although his standard estimate may warrant its maintenance or even its enhancement.

Comparing actual with standard assessments, the reports from the Local Governments show that in the North-West Provinces the average is less than 50 per cent., and in Oudh less than 47 per cent.; in the Central Provinces, which have been for only a comparatively short time under British rule, and where the native demand was as high as 75 per cent., there has been a steady and progressive reduction, although the North-West average has not yet been reached; in Orissa it has been gradually brought down from 83·3 in 1822 to 54 per cent. in the recent settlements; in the Punjab, whilst some assessments are as low as 25 per cent., the average does not exceed 45 per cent. of the net assets.

From the same reports it appears that in the Central Provinces the proportion of the revenue to the gross

produce ranges from one-sixth to one-fourteenth ; in the Punjab it nowhere exceeds one-fifth, and is more often one-seventh or one-eighth ; whilst the Madras Government says that if the State really took one-fifth it would double its revenue. The result of special inquiries by the last Famine Commission places the Government share at a still lower proportion—viz., in the Central Provinces at less than 4 per cent., in Berar at 7 per cent., in Ajmir at 10 per cent., in the Punjab and the Deccan at 7 per cent. ; in Gujerat alone it reaches 20 per cent., the standard advocated by the memorialists. It is therefore clear, as the resolution remarks, that if their proposal were adopted, its effect would be precisely the reverse of what they intended.

It is impossible within the limits of this paper to discuss in detail the various suggestions made by Mr. Dutt and the memorialists, and the manner in which they are dealt with by the Government of India. The real point of their whole criticism is that the incidence of the land revenue is so heavy that, although it may not be the direct cause of famine, it has reduced the agricultural population to such a state of poverty that it is unable to withstand the slightest pressure of bad seasons. In answer to this it is pointed out that the real cause of famine in India is, as must be obvious to everyone, the failure of rain at the proper season. Over this the Government cannot possibly have any control, and Sir H. Fowler, in the discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons in 1901, most aptly observed that he was quite unable to understand why the Government should be blamed when the rain failed, and praised when it fell. Should the rains continue to fail for a long series of years, the greater part of India would be reduced to an uninhabitable desert, and the most perfect revenue system, and the most complete scheme of irrigation, would be powerless to prevent this. The report of the last Famine Commission shows conclusively that it was by no means in what may be called heavily-assessed districts that the

famine was most severely felt; the general distress and the actual money loss caused by famine is so enormous and widespread that the whole amount of the land revenue in the afflicted districts is a mere trifle compared with it. The statistics of the persons employed on the famine relief works also show that even of those classed as agriculturists very few were revenue payers; the vast majority were farm labourers, who are quite unaffected by the incidence of the Government demand.

The Government of India does not claim for its land revenue system a symmetry and perfection to which it has no pretension; its original basis was not a scheme of taxation evolved by statesmen from general principles, but the facts as we found them. The mistakes of our system have been due, like most of our other mistakes in administration, to our applying English ideas to Indian facts imperfectly understood or altogether misapprehended. Our greatest mistake of all was that of the permanent settlement in Bengal, where we either mistook the farmers of the land revenue for the owners of the land, or thought that by treating them as owners we should create a class of landlords of the best English type, men of rank and wealth, who would devote their energies and their capital to the improvement of their estates and the well-being of their tenantry. We did nothing of the kind, and our mistake, besides costing the State millions, reduced for a long time the cultivators, who were originally peasant proprietors, to the position of rack-rented tenants, a position from which they have only been raised by the British Government, which has passed in their favour, in the face of the strongest opposition by the landlords, and without any support from the school represented by Mr. Dutt and his friends, a series of Tenancy Acts, commencing with the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859. How untrue is the picture drawn by Mr. Dutt of the condition of Bengal under the permanent settlement, and how groundless is his belief that if the same policy had been followed elsewhere,

famines would have been avoided or greatly mitigated, is clearly demonstrated by the facts and figures given in the Blue-Book.

I have said that the land revenue cannot properly be regarded as rent, but in its management of it the action of the Government has been, and is, closely analogous to that of a landlord towards his tenants. When it first succeeded to its estates it did not trouble itself about theories as to the origin of rights of property; its chief thought was to secure its rent-roll, and, as we have seen, it did this in Bengal by leasing its rents in perpetuity to the middlemen, whom it found already employed in collecting them. When it realized that property has its duties as well as its rights, it began to interest itself in its tenants, to find out who they really were and what was their condition. It gave instructions to its agents to fix rents at a sum which the tenants could pay without much difficulty, to grant long leases, to make liberal terms for securing to tenants the value of improvements effected by them, to suspend the collection of rents, or even to remit them altogether in times of exceptional distress; in the present year it has remitted no less than £1,500,000 due to it on account of arrears of revenue which had accrued during the recent famines.

It is remarked in the concluding paragraph of the Blue-Book that "Assessments cannot be dictated by the theorist in his study; they elude dogmatic treatment, and can only be safely worked out by the Settlement Officer in the village and on the field. . . ." The true function of Government is to lay down broad and generous principles for the guidance of its officers, and to prescribe moderation in enhancement and sympathy in collection." Nothing can be more sound than these remarks, but unfortunately they have not always been acted upon by the Government of India. When I first became a Settlement Officer in the Punjab in 1868, assessments were left entirely to the local Government, and this in its turn considered that as the

general principles of assessment, moderation, and a regard to the actual condition of the people, were so well known, the work of assessing the villages in detail might be left to the Settlement Officers under the supervision and control of their immediate superior, the Settlement Commissioner. But early in the seventies a school of critics, headed by Mr. Knight, the editor of the *Economist*, a paper published in Calcutta professing to speak on behalf of the general taxpayer, began to make calculations of the value of the assumed Government share of the produce, and to charge the Government with culpably sacrificing the public revenues because, according to their calculations, the revised assessments in the Punjab were greatly below the amount really due to the State. The then Government of India took alarm, and ordered that all assessments were to be submitted for its approval before being announced to the people. The result was the creation of an elaborate system of reports, reviews, and resolutions; the Settlement Officer had to draw up a separate report for each Tahsil, or subdivision of his district, showing what standards and estimates he had used as guides, and what assessment he proposed to fix. This was reviewed, first by the Settlement Commissioner or the Commissioner of the Division, then by the Financial Commissioner, then by the Local Government, and, finally, by someone in the secretariat of the Government of India. Of all the persons thus dealing with the report, no one, except the Settlement Officer and his immediate superior, had any local knowledge; the others could only review paper work, pick holes in it, and suggest on theoretical grounds some increase in the demand. If the Government of India really desires to give effect to the policy now enunciated by it, and also to the policy of decentralization of which we have heard so much and seen so little, it cannot do better than restore to the Local Governments their independence in the matter of assessments, subject, perhaps, to the proviso that no enhancement shall be made beyond certain limits

without the previous approval of the Supreme Government.

But far worse than this multiplying of reports and reviews was the other result of the Government's alarm, the creation of the so-called Famine Insurance Fund. The meaning of an insurance plainly is that a person may by the payment of an annual premium secure himself against the effects of a calamity to which he would otherwise be exposed. It is not pretended that the payment of the extra land revenue in any way secures the payers from losses by famine; even native Governments recognised the moral obligation of saving the people from death by starvation, and the British Government does not do more than fulfil this obligation in a systematic and effectual manner. It is, of course, easy to make out a paper account showing what has been received under the head of Famine Insurance, and debiting against it such expenditure as may seem most appropriate, but in reality there has never been a separate fund. The Government had been put to considerable expense on account of famine; it required more money, and it thought its land revenue was too low, and that a slight addition to it, under the plausible plea of insurance against famine, was the best means of obtaining the money it wanted. Such a plea did not deceive even the simplest peasant. It was my duty to explain to some of them the orders of the Government, and point out their justice and wisdom. When I had done this to the best of my ability, their comment was simply, "Of course the Sarkar (the Government) is lord, but it is a breach of faith." I rebuked the speaker openly, but agreed with him in my heart.

No accusation of breach of faith can be raised against the extra charges on account of local rates and the pay of village officers imposed at the time of settlement, but all the arguments by which the Government seeks to justify these charges in its resolution are thrown away on the revenue payers. They look only to the total sum they

have to pay collectively and individually, and they care little how the Government spends it, or under what heads it shows it in its accounts.

The concluding sentence of the resolution expresses the opinion of the Governor-General in Council that "the existing land revenue system, if pursued on the lines that have been indicated, is both well suited to the present condition of the country and compatible with its future development, and that the revenue which it provides, and which is more lenient in its incidence than at any previous stage of Indian history, is capable of being levied from the people with surprisingly little hardship and without discontent." I think that this opinion is substantially correct, and that the British elector may rest satisfied that the pressure of the land revenue is not the cause, direct or indirect, of famine in India. That the mass of the people in that country are very poor is undoubtedly true, and it is easy to draw a thrilling picture of their condition by giving details of their daily earnings, their food, their clothing, and their homes which would appal the working-man in England.

But, as I have already said, it is a great mistake to apply English ideas to Indian facts, and it would be the greatest of all to apply them to the question of taxation. It is no doubt the English practice to use a surplus for the relief of taxation, but even here it may be doubted whether this is not done rather for the sake of gaining popularity for a party than from a real belief in the soundness of the policy. In India nothing could be more distasteful to the people than a system of finance which remitted or increased taxation according as each year's Budget showed a surplus or a deficit. In our review of the taxes in detail, we have seen how little they affect the really poor, and how useless would be a small reduction in the rate of any particular tax. In the case of the land revenue such a reduction would be an absurdity, and it may be doubted whether even its total abolition would permanently benefit the

people. The question is very fully discussed by the Government of India in its resolution, and it is pointed out that even if we could insure that the relief reached the class for whom it was intended—namely, the real cultivators of the soil—the latter would, by reason of a continued subdivision of holdings and the increase of population, be reduced to as great a state of poverty as before. The only method of relieving the pressure of the land revenue which can be employed with advantage is that of “sympathy” in collection—that is, suspending and in some cases finally remitting the demand when necessary, and this is already both enjoined and employed by the Government of India.

It is impossible to discuss here the general condition, past and present; it is sufficient to say that their poverty is more apparent than real, and can be traced to other causes than over-taxation. They manage to live on little, and even to do without a Poor Law, because their wants are few; and it may well be doubted if they would be any happier if their wants were increased, or, as we should put it, if their standard of living were raised. Their own view of the question is well illustrated by an incident which occurred when I was at Multan. The pottery of that place had long been locally famous for its colour and design, but the secret of making it was known only to two families, who had practised it for generations, and were in what would be called in England, “humble circumstances”—that is, living the lives of decent artisans. Some Multan pottery sent to England excited the admiration of collectors, and the representative of an English firm offered the potters for their secret, or even for extending their business so as to execute a large and continuous number of orders, terms which would have raised them to affluence. They declined the offer with thanks, on the simple ground that they and their fathers had always found their little income sufficient for their wants, and they did not think that they would be any happier if it were

made into a large one. To the ordinary Western mind this may seem folly, but to the Oriental mind it is wisdom. I am often asked what the natives think on this or that subject. The only answer I can truly give is that they think nothing; their one desire is to be left in peace and not to be harassed by subordinate officials. What they particularly dislike is the interference with the long-established habits and customs of their everyday life, caused by well-meant efforts to improve their condition, especially in the matter of sanitation; the measures undertaken by the Government to check the plague have caused deeper and more widespread discontent than any other measures of recent times. Englishmen at home must not mistake the utterances of the noisy band of "educated natives," who edit newspapers and hold congresses, for a true expression of the wants and feelings of the real people. These men are the special product of English rule, and their mode of thought, speech, and writing, even when this is seditious, is copied entirely from English and Irish models. There is nothing really Indian about it; it is merely imitation European. "The dumb millions," in whose name these men profess to speak, have few truer representatives or warmer sympathizers than the much-abused English officials who have spent the greater part of their working lives amongst them, and who have, as a rule, endeavoured to the extent of their very limited abilities to combine a true regard for the welfare of the people with loyalty to the Government they served.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.*

BY THE HON. SIR LEWIS TUPPER, K.C.S.I.

Two years ago in a Convocation address† I dwelt upon the opportunities we have in the Punjab for contributing to the materials of scientific jurisprudence and upon the desirability of our University law students continuing the study of jurisprudence after entry upon the business of life. It was then in my mind to suggest Indian Constitutional Law as a proper subject for such post-graduate study, but I came to the conclusion that the matter required a separate paper to itself. Hence Indian Constitutional Law is now my subject, and I think it has more than a merely legal interest. Every graduate of an Indian University may very properly aspire to an adequate acquaintance with the principles of those enactments which constitute the governing body in India; and the like knowledge is clearly to be desired in the case of all of those whose actual or prospective duty it is to take part in Indian administration.

I shall first define my subject by a reference to Constitutional Law in general. Constitutional Law is the aggregate of the enacted law, case-law, and usage which, in any given country, determines the composition of the governing body and regulates the manner in which that body may exercise its powers. This definition excludes mere despotisms, both because the existence of a governing body implies some division of sovereignty, and because in despotic Governments there are neither enactments, the work of regularly established legislatures, nor case-law, the work of regularly established courts. The definition also excludes the usages which determine the structure of primitive Governments,

* Substance of an address delivered at the Convocation of the Punjab University as Vice-Chancellor.

† See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1901, p. 275: "English Jurisprudence and Indian Studies on Law."

whether wholly despotic or, to use a convenient anachronism, more or less popular in type. The study of primitive governments—of which we have excellent specimens in the Hindu Raj of the Kángra District and the Beluch Tuman of Dera Gházi Khan—is part of the general study of legal evolution. But I shall confine myself to Indian Constitutional Law, and thus have no occasion to enter upon the general history of forms of government. I shall, however, have to dwell on the form of government which was indigenous in India before British rule, so as to be able to explain some distinctive features of the form of government which has succeeded it.

Having defined Constitutional Law as above, my next point is that the number of the governing body is not of the essence of the question whether the structure of the particular government is or is not determined by some Constitutional Law. The Constitution may be a pure democracy, as in the United States of America ; or it may be a pure oligarchy, as in Venice in the fourteenth century ; or a republic, which is really an aristocracy, as in ancient Athens or in Rome before the days of the Empire ; or again it may be a highly complex organization, such as that of the British Empire, where we have not only King, Lords, and Commons, but powerful colonies with representative institutions, and a vast number of dependent States. Indian Constitutional Law belongs to the last of the classes which I have distinguished, because it is a part, and indeed a very small part, of the Constitutional Law of the British Empire.

My third preliminary remark follows from what I have already said. There may be a Constitution without popular government, and that is our own case in this country. Constitutional Law does not necessarily imply representative institutions ; but it does imply legality, which exempts the structure of government and the use of its powers from the vagaries of personal caprice.

I think I have now justified the position that there is a

Constitutional Law in India, and I pass on to consider the relation of the study of that law to the study of general jurisprudence. It has often occurred to me that, if sociology is to make much progress, the vast area it covers must be divided into compartments of which one would be law; and in turn, when we come to examine legal evolution by itself, we should have to partition that field again and trace the growth of particular institutions, such as property in land, or marriage or succession, or particular branches of law, such as International Law or Constitutional Law. The scientific investigation of Constitutional Law would thus be a branch of scientific jurisprudence, and that again would be part of a gradually forming science of sociology. The investigation of Constitutional Law would extend to nearly the whole course of European history, and to the analysis of the various Constitutions now existing in the advanced States of the world. Imperceptibly it would transform itself into a sociological inquiry where it sought to separate primitive governments without Constitutions from others where Constitutions were in process of being formed. The study of Indian Constitutional Law would lie on the outer verge of such an investigation. It would be taken as part of the analysis of the Constitutional Law of the British Empire, and to that law its proper place would be assigned in the general scheme of legal evolution. We need not, however, attempt to fix that place as a preliminary to the study of Indian Constitutional Law. It is contained for the most part in certain Acts of Parliament which are applicable to British India, and these require historical comment before they can be properly understood. But there is one branch of Indian Constitutional Law which depends much more on usage than on any enactments, and of which the study is by no means necessary merely for the purpose of acquiring such general knowledge of the constitutional position in India as men of good education should ordinarily possess—I refer to the relations between the British Government and the Native States, a subject which may well be left to

specialists or to others who have any special taste or interest which may induce them to follow it up.

The Parliamentary enactments relating to the Government of India are more than forty in number, and range over a period of more than 120 years. On this point I would refer to the excellent Digest compiled by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, which is contained in his book entitled "The Government of India," published in 1898. Sir Courtenay Ilbert himself supplies an historical introduction of great value, and the references which he gives will readily suggest further lines of research. But to Sir Courtenay Ilbert's introduction I would mention Sir Alfred Lyall's book, called "The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India"; and for those who may desire to form a serious and well-considered opinion on the political prospects of this country I would also add the work of Sir Henry Maine, called "Popular Government," published in 1885.

Sir Courtenay Ilbert's Digest shows that the present frame of the Government of India has been very deliberately designed and fixed in position by the supreme authority in the British Empire. The Digest is a digest of existing Parliamentary enactments relating to the Government of India, and it may therefore be taken as an epitome of the intentions of the British nation as to the manner in which India shall be governed. Considering the Digest as a whole, I observe that, like many of our institutions in this country, our form of government has a double origin both from the East and from the West. It bears traces alike of the effects of the history of India before our day and of the influence of our own political ideas and system upon Indian society. First in authority is the Secretary of State, a Cabinet Minister, in direct touch with the most powerful springs of action in Parliament. In certain matters he must act with the concurrence of a majority of his Council, but in all other matters he can overrule his Council; and in certain other matters, if the case be one of urgency or secrecy, he can act without any reference to his Council at

all. Somewhat similarly the Governor-General is ordinarily bound by the opinion and decision of a majority of his Council ; but if the measure proposed may in his judgment essentially affect the safety, tranquillity, or interest of British India, or of any part thereof, he may on his own authority adopt, suspend, or reject, the measure in whole or part. Further, the Governor-General, acting alone, may in cases of emergency make ordinances for the peace and good government of British India or any part thereof, and any ordinance so made has, for such a period not exceeding six months, as may be declared in the notification, the like force of law to a law made by the Governor-General in Council at a legislative meeting. Subordinate to the Governor-General in Council there are the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners, all with powers defined and limited by sundry enactments. Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma have local Legislative Councils of which I shall say something more below. The recent great Durbar is in itself a living epitome of the Constitution of the Indian Empire, for there was assembled the heads of Local Governments, the Agents to the Governor-General for State territory, and the principal ruling chiefs.

In this great Government, which was thus conspicuous on that remarkable occasion, there is indeed some analogy to the lesser Governments of the Crown colonies, a great and striking analogy to the Empire of Rome, and an analogy, sometimes too little remembered, to the Delhi Empire of which it is the successor. It is wholly unlike the Governments which have gradually grown up where men of British race have peopled the waste places of the earth. The Governments of the United States, of Canada, of Australia are popular governments. The Indian Government falls rather within the category of personal governments, but with this all-important distinction, that the pervading influence of law redeems it from the besetting vice of governments of that type. It is personal government from which

personal caprice is excluded by the general requirement that there shall be legal warrant for the exercise of all official authority.

England has been justly described as the Mother of Parliaments. It is not, perhaps, generally remembered that popular government is, comparatively speaking, a novelty in the history of the world. Sir Henry Maine has pointed out that "the modern popular government of our day is of purely English origin"; that the principle of modern popular government was affirmed some two centuries ago by events which happened in the British Isles; and that the practical applications of that principle outside those islands and their dependencies is only about a century old. America copied the English Constitution. "The British political model," says the same high authority, "was followed by France, by Spain and Portugal, and by Holland and Belgium combined in the kingdom of the Netherlands, and after a long interval by Germany, Italy, and Austria."

Now, how is it that the Mother of Parliaments, the country whose history is the very source of modern institutions which have overspread three continents, taking newly federated Australia as the third—how is it that such a country has given to India a government of a different type?

The type has not been reached without prolonged effort. It is the outcome of many experiments, one, at least, of which, the Regulating Act of 1773, was a disastrous failure. It is the result of repeated Parliamentary inquiries held usually at intervals of twenty years. There would have been no want of will to transplant British institutions to this country; but that process understood literally, not as the modification of Indian institutions to bring them into some accord with British ideas, was soon shown by experience to be impracticable. Here, as in other matters, "limits we did not set condition all we do." British authority in India has been derived not only from Parliamentary enactments, but also from the Delhi Emperors and

others native rulers. History does not escape the great law of evolution, and against forces which work with the irresistible consistency of Nature it is idle to contend. There were political forces at work in India before our day which determined, and in a great measure determine still, the Indian form of government.

Personal government, I would point out, was the indigenous system evolved in the normal conditions of Indian society when as yet unmodified by Western conquest and Western ideas.

In saying this I imply no disparagement of the indigenous system, even though it was not regulated by law and fixed rules of administration. As students of history and jurisprudence, we should examine political forms in the same dispassionate way as forms of plant or animal life. If we do this we see that personal government in various forms, in the chiefships of fighting tribes, in the kingships of city states, in the great monarchies which superseded feudalism, in a diverse assortment of empires—Oriental, Roman, Holy Roman, and French—has played an enormous part in political development. And we may reasonably infer that such an institution is in a certain sense natural to man; that is to say, it is produced amongst institutions by the survival of the fittest, the fittest not being necessarily that which we morally approve, but that which is best suited to its environment. From this point of view I should hold that the form of personal government which we found existing in India, being historically the product of the centuries which preceded our rule, was therefore presumably the form of government best suited to the conditions of the country and time. It was, indeed, the creature of those conditions. The foreign empire of the Moghals broke up, and the indigenous Indian State, or a copy of it, appeared or reappeared everywhere.

I must dwell for a short time on that remark, because the expansion of it will enable me to explain why it is that I hold the form of our Indian Government to be still largely

determined by the history of the country both before and during our day. There is a temptation to contrast the progress of Europe with the immobility of the East, and to classify India with China and ancient Egypt as countries exhibiting specimens of arrested development, of civilizations never consummated, but somehow brought, after a fair degree of advancement, to a permanent stop. This temptation has long seemed to me to be one to be resisted. I cannot reconcile the theory of the immobility of certain societies with the application of the doctrine of evolution to politics, nor with the belief that political societies are organisms which grow like living things. I would rather admit that growth may be under some conditions as extraordinarily slow as it is under other conditions extraordinarily rapid, and assert that if there is development there is also decadence. However this may be, whether there is or is not any such thing as an actually stationary society, it is beyond doubt that in India of the eighteenth century there was a vast political movement over the whole country, which originated in the country itself from causes other than the appearance on the scene of European adventurers. We speak of the disruption of the Moghal Empire, but we are perhaps apt to forget that long before we built up our empire out of the ruins a certain work of reconstruction had already begun. At the time when the rise of British dominion was imminent, or in process of accomplishment, the distinctive feature in the political situation of India was the formation of new States. Our own successes illustrated the general tendency. The East India Company did, in fact, become one of a vast number of States which, all over India, were seeking to strengthen or extend their political power. Great States were formed out of enormous fragments of the broken Delhi Empire—in Oudh, in Bengal, in the Deccan. The rival Mahratta Empire was breaking up into the dominions of the Gaekwar, of Sindhia, of Holkar, of the Bhonsla, when its progress to general supremacy was stopped by collision with ourselves. And besides these

kingdoms, representing a Muhammadan Empire in its decadence and a Hindu revival to which that decadence gave its chance, there were two great military kingdoms founded mainly on successful violence—by Hyder Ali in Mysore and Ranjit Singh in the Punjab. What was being done on a large scale by the rebellious governors of the Delhi Emperors, by the generals and statesmen of the Mahratta Confederacy, and by the most prominent leaders of military bands, was being done on a smaller scale by smaller men in many widely distant parts of the country. The disruption of the central authority gave the opportunity to political adventurers of various kinds and creeds—to Muhammadans, Sikhs, Hindus, French, and English—to carve out for themselves petty principalities, or to convert into more or less dependent States territorial grants made by ruling authorities. Amongst such adventurers were the Poligars of Southern India, the Sattara and Southern Mahratta jagirdars, and the Sikh jagirdars and other chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej territory. Moreover, we rolled back, on the south and west, the advancing battalions of the Mahrattas, and in the north the military strength of the Nepalese; and as the smoke and dust of the combat cleared away States of older formation—in Rajputana, in Central India, and in the Punjab Hills—stood forth with exceptional clearness.

Thus, if we look to the whole of India—I exclude here Burma and Beluchistán—as it has fallen bit by bit under British supremacy, we see it as a vast mosaic of States, some old, some new, but all alike in this, that they were under personal government. If we ask at what stage of political growth were the populations of India at the time when British supremacy was impending, the answer is that they were at the stage of territorial despotism. Sovereignty was supposed to reside in the chief of the State, who might be, and often was, the head of a dominant clan, but also often had no tribal root in the soil, and was merely a foreign conqueror. There were, indeed, large bodies of law—

Hindu and Muhammadan law known to experts and customary law, certainly in the Punjab and probably elsewhere. But there was no legislation; there was nothing which we could accept as a regular administration of justice with a hard-and-fast distinction between executive and judicial authority. There was some separation of public functions—a group of great officers of State amongst the Mahrattas, a distinction between the civil and revenue and the criminal administration in Bengal—but whatever was the law, and whoever were the Ministers or the local representatives of the State, the theory was that the chief of the State was absolute. It is exactly this absolutism which is crushed by the increasing strength of the reign of law. But it was probably at one time the necessary defence of any kingdom against organized brigandage within its borders and ever impending and wholly unscrupulous attack from without.

As to our own share in the general scramble for political authority, we succeeded to a dilapidated province of the Delhi Empire, itself a foreign empire, aiming, in its latter days quite unsuccessfully, at official rule under the general control of a central government. The administration of our predecessors had broken down, leaving only traces of itself amid general anarchy. For years we struggled to keep the administration, or much of it, in native hands. We did not “stand forth as Dewán” till seven years after the formal grant of the Dewáni; we did not stand forth as *Hákim*, openly taking over the whole administration of criminal justice, till 1790, thirty-three years after the Battle of Plassey had virtually placed the sovereignty of the country in our hands. For years we tried experiment after experiment intended to maintain the Moghal system of management under European superintendence, and indeed avowedly designed to preserve, in the language of the Court of Directors, “those rules and maxims of policy which prevailed in well-regulated periods of the Native Government.” Thus, what we sought to support, and did

in the sequel reproduce with many improvements, was rather the official system of the Moghals than the indigenous Indian State. But the provincial organization of the Delhi Empire had itself largely copied the older governments which it superseded, and the Imperial provinces and the indigenous States were alike in this, that all were examples of personal rule.

I think I have said enough to show from what quarter it was that we gathered the elements of personal rule that are still present in our Indian administration. If it is a sound political principle that we should adjust the political institutions of a country to its existing stage of political growth, then, looking to the stability of most of what is indigenous in India and the merely superficial effect of changes of government on the ideas and customs of the peasantry—that is, of the bulk of the population—it will, I think, be admitted that some infusion of the personal element was and is indispensable in our Constitution. But the very same principle implies that as society changes, the institutions which are intended to be suited to its condition should change with it. It may be contended this principle also is satisfied in our Constitution as it is. The most momentous changes which have happened in India are the establishment of British authority and the influx of Western ideas. The peasantry are little affected by the latter, but educated men are compelled to review their hereditary mental equipment and adapt it to forces which they cannot resist. Western ideas naturally generate Western aspirations, and endeavours have been made to meet them in a manner consistent with the maintenance of security. At both ends of the administrative scale, locally in district boards and municipal committees, and provincially for the country at large in the Legislative Councils, we have institutions which are of Western origin and in frame and purpose unlike anything that was organized by our predecessors. I should be trenching on the ground of current politics were I to say anything here regarding the boards and committees; but I

have sketched elsewhere,* in more passages than one, the history of the Legislative Councils, and I have found it full of interest and full of promise. In the Council of the Governor-General the financial statement may now be discussed, and under carefully considered rules questions may be asked on public affairs. The nominations to five seats on the Governor-General's Council are made on the recommendations of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce and of the non-official members or additional members of the Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces. Similarly in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces persons may be recommended for nomination to the local Legislative Council by certain bodies and associations, including the Corporations of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, and the senates of the several universities.

In conclusion I may add that Indian Constitutional Law is part of the Constitutional Law of the British Empire. We are subjects of a vast and varied Empire, whose institutions must be adapted to the diversity of the populations under its sway. From that Empire two political evils of great magnitude—tyranny and slavery—are banished. Personal liberty and the protection of the law are our birth-right. These possessions are more precious than the distribution of votes ; for they are the foundation of justice, and in them there is no corruption. Let us be glad that we belong to an Empire whose children in this sense are free, and whose lasting ideal of government—though some particular measures may by misadventure miscarry—is justice, beneficence, and security.

* "Our Indian Protectorate," pp. 346, 347 ; "India and Sir Henry Maine" (*Journal of the Society of Arts* for March 18, 1898, pp. 392-394).

INDIAN CURRENCY LEGISLATION AND INDIAN ECONOMICS.

BY A. R. BONUS, I.C.S.

IT is now nearly ten years since, by an Act of the Governor-General in Council, the Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver. Before and at the time the propriety and policy of this step were the subject of animated discussion in the press and elsewhere, and the question is even now a vexed one. The matter continues to be mooted and debated in one form or another in Parliament, and a Currency Reform League in India is projected, if not already organized. Yet in spite of—possibly in consequence of—all this discussion, it is doubtful whether the views generally held on the subject are not—in part, at all events—confused and erroneous; while defenders of the policy of the Indian Government, when rebutting criticism on particular points, have no occasion to deal with the matter in its entirety. It may therefore not be amiss to attempt an article on the subject which, while keeping clear of minor side-issues, may indicate what was done; why it was done; what happened, and what is said to have happened in consequence; and what would have happened otherwise.

In 1893 the position of the Government of India was as follows: They were committed to defraying annually large expenses which had to be met by payments in gold. Their own revenue, however, was collected in silver coin. Further, free coinage of silver was permitted in India. Anyone tendering silver of the requisite fineness at the Indian mint could receive in return virtually the same amount by weight of coined rupees. That is to say, the value of a coined rupee was practically the value of its weight (some $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce) of silver bullion. Now, owing to the fact that silver was being turned out from the

mines in an apparently inexhaustible stream, the increase in gold being relatively small, the value of silver bullion in terms of gold fell steadily as the supply of silver bullion rose. As the value of silver bullion fell, so did the value of the coined silver rupee. More and more rupees had to be given each year by the Indian Government in order to obtain any specified number of sovereigns wherewith to meet the bills of which payment had to be made in gold. Where was this to stop? The amount of the Indian land-tax, which forms so large an item of the Indian Government's revenue, is fixed for long terms of years, and the tax cannot be directly increased in the interim even if this were desirable. In Bengal, indeed, a "perpetual settlement" exists. There is further a limit, beyond which taxes such as Customs, Excise, income-tax, and the like, cannot well go. Consequently there were limits to the amount of rupees which the Indian Government might collect in taxes; but there was apparently no assignable limit to the out-turn of silver bullion, and the consequent fall in the value of the rupee. A time appeared to be at hand when all the resources of taxation would not provide the Government of India with enough rupees to defray their gold liabilities, and at the same time to pay for the cost of carrying on the administration of the Indian Empire.

The Government decided to close their mints to free coinage of silver. The efflux of silver bullion from the mines might go on, or it might not. At all events, this silver should not pass on through the mints to swell the depreciated currency of India. The mints were closed, accordingly, in June, 1893, though the Government, of course, reserved their right to coin silver on their own account if they should deem this expedient.

The avowed object of the Government was to prevent a further fall in exchange. That they were practically certain to attain that result at least may be perceived by consideration of the following elementary proposition :

In the last event, the produce of India must be bought

with rupees. The man who grows indigo or cotton, and brings it to the local market for sale, takes his price in rupees. Whatever complexity of cheques, bills of exchange, and so on, may overlie the working of India's trade with the world, the essential fact is that the producer is so paid in rupees. (Theoretically, of course, we might dispense with money altogether, and exchange one commodity directly against another without the intervention of coin; practically, however, coin is used, and will continue to be used.) Now, if the flow of coined rupees from the mints should be suddenly cut off, and the total available supply of those rupees be thus fixed, it follows (1) that a fixed rate of exchange must be established between the rupee and any other commodity of which the supply did not alter; (2) that in the case of a commodity of which the supply did alter, its value in rupees would rise if the supply of the particular commodity fell off, and *vice versa*. For it is the simple fundamental law of prices that the value of a commodity A, calculated in terms of a commodity B, depends solely on the relation of the amounts of A and B offered and sought in the market, and on nothing else. If people with money want eggs, and eggs are scarce, their price rises; if there is a glut of eggs it falls. If a man with gold wanted rupees, and the supply of the latter was stationary or diminishing, their exchange value as against gold would be fixed or would rise.

It may seem superfluous to insist on this with any degree of emphasis, but it is a curious fact that some people seem to imagine that current coins of the realm are for some mysterious reason exempt from the operation of the laws of supply and demand. Why these alone among commodities should be deemed thus favoured, I cannot say. Yet a writer in the January number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 47, contends that "the device of closing the mints in India, and making coined silver scarce, and thus worth the while" (to use his own words) "of remitters to pay more for it," has not affected

the "silver value" of produce and other things in India. With "silver value" I am not now concerned, but if he means "coined silver value," as he apparently does, then his contention, if correct, would merely imply that the supply of "produce and other things" had diminished or increased *pari passu* with the supply of rupees. This would also be the interpreted meaning of the assertion that the purchasing power of the rupee in India has not varied—an assertion which I have seen attributed to more than one authority, though without reference given. I cannot but believe, however, that these authorities have been misunderstood or misquoted. The annexed table shows the purchasing power of the rupee measured in food grains for each of the quinquennial periods from 1861 to 1900. It seems needless to go further into the matter.

TABLE SHOWING FLUCTUATIONS IN EXCHANGE AND IN PRINCIPAL FOOD GRAINS IN INDIA.

Period.	Average of Exchange in Pence.	Price of Jawar at Cawnpore in Sers per Rupee.	Price of Rice at Backerganj in Sers per Rupee.	Price of Bajra at Ahmadnagar (Deccan) in Sers per Rupee.	Price of Wheat at Rawal Pindi in Sers per Rupee.
1861-1865	24 $\frac{15}{16}$	25'4	24'73	21'3	27'58
1866-1870	23 $\frac{33}{40}$	23'9	18'43	20'75	18'6
1871-1875	22 $\frac{17}{20}$	25'11	21'71	23'67	21'53
1876-1880	20 $\frac{79}{100}$	24'82	15'87	13'15	19'82
1881-1885	19 $\frac{7}{20}$	29'16	21'99	20'71	23'46
1886-1890	17 $\frac{61}{100}$	20'04	16'23	16'99	17'46
1891-1895	14 $\frac{7}{8}$	21'48	13'2	18'3	17'47
1896-1901	15 $\frac{7}{12}$	17'86	12'75	13'31	12'87

NOTE.—The exchange figures are for Calcutta exchange on London at four to six months' sight. The ser measures about 2 pounds.

What happened immediately after the closing of the mints is instructive.

In one of his books—it may be "Life on the Mississippi"—Mark Twain tells the story of the origin of the close corporation of river pilots. Up to that time every pilot

had, without restriction, taken apprentices, trained them, and turned them into full-blown pilots on their own account. As the number of pilots thus rose, so did wages drop—the natural result of an increase of would-be employes without a corresponding increase of openings for employment. With a view to checking this drop in wages, a number of pilots leagued themselves into a society, proclaimed that they would not work for less than a largely enhanced wage, and were all promptly discharged, and for some time remained without employment at all.

Very similar was the fate of Council bills. There appears to have been a general idea abroad that the legislation of June, 1893, amounted to a fiat, that henceforth the rupee should be worth 1s. 4d., and that the rupee would obediently rise forthwith to that level. At the beginning of April, 1893, the London market rate of exchange on India was only 1s. 2 $\frac{1}{16}$ d., and on April 5 Council bills—which, it may be stated, are practically cheques which are sold by the Indian Government in return for gold paid in England, the cheques being subsequently cashed for rupees in India—sold for 1s. 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ d. per rupee. The same level prevailed on June 1. The mints were closed on June 26. On that day twelve lakhs of bills were sold at prices ranging from 1s. 3 $\frac{1}{32}$ d. to 1s. 3 $\frac{17}{32}$ d., and a bad bargain it must have been for the purchasers. A few days later the rate of 1s. 4d. was touched. Then came a change. By the end of July exchange had dropped to 1s. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ d.; on August 24 only 1s. 2 $\frac{27}{32}$ d. was offered for Council bills; at the beginning of November no offers were made at all; and at the end of that month, though 1s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. was offered, it was only to a limited extent.

In a word, the laws of supply and demand had asserted themselves, and had indicated the true market value of the rupee. No one would buy rupees at 1s. 4d. apiece, or thereabouts, if they could be got for considerably less; and the great volume of the Indian currency made it possible so to get them. Council bills

were not the only securities which could be bought in England for gold, sent to India, and sold there for rupees. Scrip of the Indian Government was equally a medium of trade, and we find that during the thirteen months from August, 1893, to August, 1894, inclusive, there was a steady flow of such scrip from England to India. During this period the amount of the Indian Government's promissory notes outstanding on their London register dropped from 2,598½ lakhs to 2,310¼ lakhs. Meanwhile the Indian Government had to meet their gold liabilities, had to buy sovereigns, and, like other people, had to buy them at the market rate—a rate fixed not by their own legislation, but by the all-powerful laws of supply and demand. Lower and lower dropped the price of Council bills, the outstanding Indian currency being no doubt swollen by the accretion of previously hoarded stores of silver coin. Bottom was not touched till early in 1895, when in January and February over £1,800,000 worth of bills drawn on the Calcutta treasury alone were sold at an average of 1s. 0¾d. per rupee—a rate sufficiently remote from the standard of 1s. 4d. But the worst was now over, and a steady rise set in till December, 1898, in which month bills to the value of over £837,000 fetched an average of 1s. 4d. per rupee—an average maintained thereafter.

The objection may here be raised : “ The fact of a continuous fall and subsequent rise of exchange is indubitable. But on that theory this might be accounted for by a continuous decrease, followed by a subsequent increase, in the supply of gold and rupee-purchased commodities in general. We know, too, that in several years there has been a considerable increase in the coinage in the Indian mints. What proof have we, independent of such theories, that there has been an absolute and steady decrease of the circulating medium ? ” The answer is that increase of coinage does not necessarily imply that the additional coin passes into circulation, and that the decrease in volume of the currency is demonstrated in papers appended to an annual report of

the India Paper Currency Department published in the *Supplements to the Gazette of India*, September 1, 1900.

I think, however, that it is generally admitted that the rise in value of the rupee to 1s. 4d. was, in fact, mainly due to the contraction of the currency; and adverse critics assert that the closure of the mints to free coinage, which ultimately brought about this contraction, amounted to an act of immediate spoliation as against holders of silver. It is argued that the native of India who awoke on June 26, 1893, in possession of a hundred tolas' weight of silver ornaments owned in them a potential hundred rupees (the weight of a rupee is one tola), and that when he went to sleep the same night the Government had by a stroke of the pen knocked a considerable fraction of their value off his jewels. (As a matter of fact, the price of bar silver in Bombay averaged over Rs. 99 for 100 tolas during July, 1893, and in August as much as Rs. 99 $\frac{7}{8}$, so that in selling his ornaments the holder would probably not have lost more than he would have done by converting them into coin through the medium of the mint, having regard to cost of conveyance, assay, fees, and seignorage; indeed, he would have lost more by this direct conversion in June, when bar silver in Bombay averaged Rs. 106 $\frac{1}{4}$ per 100 tolas, so that to turn ornaments into coin quâ coin was unprofitable.) But even if by the night of June 26 the rupee had risen at one bound to 1s. 4d., and had remained at that level, the native would have really had nothing to complain of. He could not, it is true, have any longer effected direct conversion of his ornaments into coin, and he would have received fewer coins by selling his ornaments in the market. But no one—save, perhaps, a numismatist or a miser—wants coined rupees for their own sake, but for the purchasing power which they confer; and the purchasing power of rupees on June 27 would have risen with regard to grain, clothes, shoes, etc., in exactly the same proportion as it had risen with regard to silver ornaments. The barter value of the latter—the proportion in which they would exchange for

(e.g.) flour—directly and without the intervention of coinage, remained unchanged ; and if after August, 1893, that barter value decreased on the whole continuously and steadily, the fault rests, not with the Indian Government, but with the wholesale producers of silver.

The second charge brought against the Government is a more serious one. It was recently enunciated as follows by Mr. R. H. Elliot in a paper * read before the East India Association on November 24, 1902 : “ What, unfortunately, they (the Government) did not perceive was, that their method of creating a ‘ stable ’ exchange at an artificially enhanced rate, which was liable to be still further enhanced at the will of the Government, instead of developing, would seriously injure the industries of the country, and thus at once diminish the means of employment and the rate of wages, results which have already occurred in consequence of the currency measure.”

Now, I am not now concerned with what would happen, supposing that the Government of India amended their laws with a view to raising the exchange value of the rupee to (say) half a crown. I touch on this interesting subject later on, but at present I desire to examine Mr. Elliot’s statement as to what has happened in consequence of the raising of the rupee to 1s. 4d.

In the first place it may be as well to understand clearly at the outset what is meant by the phrase the “ industries of the country.” I suppose it to connote the production of wealth in the country at large—the out-turn of Indian produce which has an exchange value, and is sought for by consumers in or out of India. If it were the case that this production had been impeded by the legislation of 1893, and the final rise of the rupee to 1s. 4d. in December, 1898, one would expect to find the impediment indicated by a diminution of the area employed to furnish that produce. But the agricultural statistics of British India do not fulfil

* See this paper, and the discussion thereon, in the January number of this *Review* (pp. 54-68 and 170-189).

AREA IN THOUSANDS OF ACRES UNDER SIX PRODUCTS OF INDIA DURING THE PERIOD 1884-1885 TO 1900-1901 IN BRITISH INDIA, EXCLUSIVE OF BENGAL.

	1884-1885	1885-1886	1886-1887	1887-1888	1888-1889	1889-1890	1890-1891	1891-1892	1892-1893	1893-1894	1894-1895	1895-1896	1896-1897	1897-1898	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901
Cotton	8,521	8,739	10,134	9,042	9,215	10,393	10,750	8,859	8,729	10,236	9,517	9,412	9,313	8,747	9,027	8,232	9,494
Tea	...	...	227	234	241	252	255	266	272	280	293	303	318	338	353	360	368
Coffee	...	...	118	118	118	118	133	128	123	124	134	134	147	151	148	133	136
Indigo	...	...	813	899	998	977	683	541	586	921	1,076	946	1,031	811	504	594	616
Tobacco	...	...	332	354	348	393	381	327	374	476	448	416	359	400	436	328	422
Jute*	...	...	—	—	—	—	2,480	2,100	2,181	2,231	2,275	2,249	2,215	2,160	1,691	2,071	2,116
Average exchange on Calcutta	d. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 18	d. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 16 $\frac{3}{4}$	d. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$	d. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$	d. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$	d. 14 $\frac{3}{8}$	d. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$	d. 13 $\frac{1}{8}$	d. 15 $\frac{1}{8}$	d. 15 $\frac{1}{16}$	d. 16	d. 16 $\frac{3}{16}$	d. 16

*¹/₁₆ Inclusive of Bengal.

this expectation by any means. The table on p. 323 shows, in thousands of acres, the area under some of the principal products of the country.

These staple products have not been chosen with a view to demonstrate any particular fact, but merely in order to obtain the longest possible continuous record of cultivated area. The Bengal figures are excluded because they are not given at all in the agricultural returns till 1892-93, and even after that year they are based on estimates alone. The jute figures, in turn, appear altogether untrustworthy for years prior to 1890-91; from that year onwards they are given inclusive of the Bengal area. The Bengal estimated areas for other crops from 1892-93 to 1900-01 are given below for what they are worth :

AREA IN THOUSANDS OF ACRES.

	1892-1893.	1893-1894.	1894-1895.	1895-1896.	1896-1897.	1897-1898.	1898-1899.	1899-1900.	1900-1901.
Cotton ...	211	201	200	189	146	168	152	144	120
Tea ...	89	111	122	104	108	128	130	133	134
Coffee ...	*	*	*	—	½	—	—	—	—
Indigo ..	737	614	630	624	553	555	510	453	368
Tobacco ...	775	731	726	696	642	648	657	587	583

Finally, let us take the area under coffee in Mysore :

Year.	Thousands of Acres.	Year.	Thousands of Acres.
1889-1890 ...	123	1895-1896 ...	141
1890-1891 ...	130	1896-1897 ...	146
1891-1892 ...	129	1897-1898† ...	130
1892-1893 ...	132	1898-1899 ...	129
1893-1894 ...	137	1899-1900 ...	129
1894-1895 ...	139	1900-1901 ...	128

* None recorded.

† The sudden extraordinary fall in 1897-1898 occurred almost entirely in *one* district—that of Hassan, where the area under coffee is reported to have dropped from 57,687 acres in 1896-1897 to 42,205 acres in 1897-1898. I have found no note of official or other comment on this phenomenon.

Now, in examining these figures with a view to gauging the effect of the currency legislation on the production of wealth in India, three dates must, it would seem, have to be specially borne in mind. One is June, 1893, when the mints were closed; and as that step, as we have seen, did not prevent exchange from dropping considerably for nearly two years, the second landmark in time is January to February, 1895, when exchange touched bottom. The third notable date is December, 1898, when exchange finally reached 1s. 4d. Those who maintain that the currency legislation has proved deleterious, not to say disastrous, to the industries of India will probably be puzzled to reconcile their contention with these figures. The All-India figures show that between 1890-91 and 1892-93, with a steadily falling exchange, the area under cotton fell too. So did that under coffee. Indigo and tobacco fluctuated, but fell on the whole. In 1893-94 exchange continuing its downward course, the area under all the tabulated crops rose, in some cases enormously. Next year came a heavy fall in exchange; but though the areas under coffee, indigo, and jute rose, those under cotton and tobacco fell. During the next six years we have a steady rise in exchange, and the cropped area affected by two severe famines; and at the end of this period the areas under cotton, coffee, and tobacco are higher than at the beginning, jute is a little down, and indigo has fallen heavily. Yet this last crop exhibits a steady increase in area, since the attainment by exchange of the 1s. 4d. level in 1898-99. The tea area is remarkable; regardless of the course of exchange or the currency legislation, it rises steadily and persistently for seventeen years, forming a serious obstacle to anyone attacking that legislation on the strength of the evidence afforded by the figures of other crops in Bengal. And, to those who have been accustomed to see it asserted that the currency legislation has ruined the Mysore coffee industry, it will come as something of a surprise to find the coffee area in that province rising from

139,000 acres to 146,000 acres, while exchange rose from 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. For reasons given in my note on the figures, I suspect that either those for years prior to 1897-98 should be reduced by some 15,000 acres, or those for that year and subsequent years should be increased by the same amount; in any case, the fall in area in 1897-98 must have been a purely local event, and the area under coffee cultivation in the whole province of Mysore has remained almost undiminished since exchange became steady at 16d.

When we turn from agriculture to manufactures, the evidence adverse to the currency legislation appears equally scanty. In cotton spinning and weaving there has been a steady increase in looms and spindles from 1883-84 to 1901-02. There has been a steady rise in the production of yarn from 1895-96 onwards, except in the famine years of 1896-97, 1899-1900, and 1900-01. If the supply of raw material runs short, there must naturally be a decrease in the out-turn of the spun article. The jute-mill returns show an increase of looms and spindles as in the case of cotton-mills. Wool-mills reveal an almost continual increase in plant, quantity, and value of out-turn. Both in these mills and in paper-mills the latest figures are the highest. I may here remark that the figures I have made use of in this discussion are available for all to consult, should they so desire. The information is contained in *Prices and Wages in India*, and the *Financial and Commercial Statistics* published by and for the Government of India. There is nothing secret or confidential about it. The one regrettable point is that it does not, in the matter of prices and industrial statistics, cover a very wide field.

If the area under important crops is to be held any criterion, the currency legislation of the Government of India does *not*, after all, appear to have caused any serious injury to the industries of India—*pace* Mr. Elliot. The same conclusion is the outcome of an examination of the figures relating to cotton-mills, jute-mills, wool-mills, and

paper-mills; and, if the premises of the argument are wrong, it may seem unnecessary to trouble about the conclusion, that the means of employment and the rate of wages have been diminished. But let us look for a moment at such wage statistics as are available. In a certain Bengal paper-mill the record shows coolies' wages steady at Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ per mensem from 1884-1902, with the exception of a rise to Rs. 7 from 1899-1901. At the Murree Brewery the rate is Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ from 1886-1902. The figures for a Bengal coal-mining company show that at five different collieries the miners' wages have risen. At the Manockjee Petit Mills, Bombay, and at a mill in Madras, the wages of most classes of workers have remained steady, or have risen since the date of the currency legislation. I find only one instance of a general downward tendency in wages, namely, on a tea-plantation in Assam, a concern dealing with a crop whose cultivation has steadily increased, as set forth above, for the last seventeen years. Of any general fall in wages since 1893 I have been unable to find any indication at all.

Area of production and rate of wages thus failing to establish the alleged disastrous effects of the currency legislation, let us take a few figures relating to the export trade of India and prices in Calcutta. For the former I have selected tea and coffee, two of the industries which are usually understood to have suffered most. As regards tea exports, they amounted to 60,500,000 pounds in 1883-84, and by 1900-01 had risen to 192,000,000 pounds. The rise has been steady and continuous, except for one setback in 1892-93, which was more than doubly recovered in the year following. Exports of coffee, which were 377,000 hundred-weights in 1885-86, dropped by 1890-91 to 235,000 hundred-weights without there being any currency legislation on which to throw the blame; then followed a few years of fluctuation with a downward tendency, ending with a violent fall in 1895-96 to 43,000 hundredweights. The figures for the next

five years in thousands of hundredweights are: 293, 338, 368, 428, 462. It was in the third of these five years, it will be remembered, that a steadily-rising exchange finally reached 1s. 4d.; since which date the languishing—or shall we say moribund?—coffee industry has increased its exports by more than 25 per cent.

If we turn to prices, we meet at once with a deficiency in the official record. The number of articles of export, of which a continuous record of prices exists, is not as large as one could wish it to be. Coffee, for instance, is not included. The deficiency is not of very material importance, since the value of produce is determined by the relations of demand and supply, and not by the currency of the country of origin. The currency does have an effect as regards profits (as I shall presently endeavour to show), but as regards produce it is simply a measure of value. You may estimate the return for your produce in rupees worth 1s., 1s. 2d., or 1s. 4d.; but that does not affect the actual amount of the return, any more than the actual amount of the output is affected by measuring it in pounds, in stones, or in hundredweights. But to our prices.

The price of Broach cotton, per candy, in Bombay and Karachi, recorded in January of each year, ranged during the period 1884-1902 inclusive from Rs. 273 (1893) to Rs. 151 (1899). Here, it may be asserted, is clear proof of the mischief wrought by the currency legislation; prices were highest just before the mints were closed, and touched bottom just after the rupee rose to 1s. 4d. Unfortunately for this argument, when exchange was absolutely at its lowest cotton also was at the lowest price (Rs. 178) which it reached during any of the nineteen Januaries under consideration—except in 1899, as already stated, and in 1898, when it was down to Rs. 175. Moreover, in 1900, 1901, and 1902 the prices returned are Rs. 215, Rs. 225, and Rs. 205, an average price of Rs. 215, or Rs. 37 better than when exchange was 12½d.

The price of tea (the article described as "common Congou") in Calcutta in January has ranged from 3 annas to $6\frac{3}{4}$ annas per pound. The former price was touched in 1901, the latter in 1895; and the average price for nine Januaries since the closing of the mints has been 4'4722d., as against 5'2222d. for nine previous Januaries. This is a decline of exactly $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per pound; considering the enormously-increased out-turn, the marvel is that the drop has not been greater.

Comparing the prices of indigo for the same two periods of nine years, we find a decline in average from Rs. 235 to Rs. 215 $\frac{1}{2}$ per factory maund. The average price of "ordinary" jute, on the other hand, exhibits a rise from Rs. 27'555 to Rs. 30'611 per 100 pound bale. The evidence of prices at large appears to demonstrate nothing either for or against the currency legislation. If other factors remained constant, a contraction in the currency would tend to exhibit lower prices expressed in rupees of greater purchasing power. But other factors do not remain constant, supply in particular varying.

The subject of prices affords an opportunity for the discussion of the assertion that countries where free coinage of silver is still the rule have by the Indian currency legislation been granted an advantage in their competition with India. The Indian tea-, indigo-, and coffee-planting industries, according to Sir Edward Sassoon (debate on the Indian Budget, November 21, 1902), are unable to sustain any sort of competition with the same industries coming to Europe from silver-standard countries. If this is the case, one would like to know what is the destination of the ever-increasing exports of (*e.g.*) tea and coffee which I have already noted—an increase which was not interrupted by the occurrence of the famine years of 1896-97, and 1899, 1900.

As regards coffee, indeed, I have some information, and the subjoined table, showing the increase or decrease of exports for 1901-02 as compared with those of 1900-01,

the figures giving thousands of pounds, throws some light on Indian coffee and European markets :

Country to which sent.	Increase.	Decrease.	Country to which sent.	Increase.	Decrease.
United Kingdom ...	—	2,621	Natal ...	4	—
Belgium ...	—	223	Asiatic Turkey ...	—	154
Germany ...	—	27	Persia ...	—	270
United States ...	—	47	Arabia ...	—	6
Australia ...	—	23	Ceylon ...	1,012	—
France ...	2,857	—	Mauritius ...	75	—
Austria-Hungary ...	352	—	Abyssinia ...	18	—
Holland ...	11	—	Aden ...	7	—
Italy ...	11	—			

If Indian coffee is losing ground in the United Kingdom, Belgium, Persia, and Asiatic Turkey, it would appear to be more than recouping that loss by progress in France, Austria, and Ceylon. But let that pass. What is meant by the allegation that India is unable to “compete” with, say, China in the matter of tea, or Brazil in the case of coffee? Does it imply that teas (coffees) of identical quality from the two countries sell in any given market at different rates at the same time? The thing is an economic impossibility. The phrase must, it seems to me, be intended to mean one of two things—either (1) that, if the mints were open, the cheapest Indian tea (coffee) could be sold at least as cheaply as the cheapest Chinese (Brazilian); or (2) that in consequence of the appreciation of the rupee the Indian trader’s profits have been reduced.

Let us examine the former of these propositions. I find (*Economist*, January 3, 1903) the cheapest Chinese tea quoted in London at a pound for 3d. Were the mints open, then, with standard silver in London at 22d. per ounce, a rupee could be turned out of the Indian mints for 8½d., and there would be nearly 28½ rupees to the sovereign. Threepence would be equivalent to 5·6464 annas; and allowing for cost of freight, we see that the Indian planter would have to put his tea on the Calcutta market at, say,

5·6 annas per pound in order to compete with the cheapest Chinese tea in the London market. The average Calcutta market price for the cheapest Indian tea for nine years past has been 4·5 annas, nearly, and it may be argued that a rise of 1·1 anna per pound would be enough to afford a handsome profit. This argument, however, assumes, firstly, that China could not under stress of competition reduce the price of her cheapest tea to considerably below 3d. per pound, of which there is no evidence; secondly, that stress of competition in India itself would not force down prices, as it very possibly would; thirdly, that the purchasing power of the anna in India would not fall, which it certainly would (see figures of increasing dearness of food grains coincidently with falling exchange between 1861 and 1895); and, fourthly, that the tea industry in India would somehow succeed in escaping (as it certainly would not) the incidence of the enormous increase in taxation which would be necessitated by the appreciation of the sovereign from 15 to $28\frac{1}{4}$ rupees. Altogether, the profit that it is estimated would accrue to the Indian tea-trade from free coinage of silver appears illusory, and, if this is true, with a hypothetical rupee at $8\frac{1}{2}$ d., much more is it true in the case of the rupee at 14d., which is now suggested in some quarters as a rate better suited than 16d. to the necessities of the Indian trade. As to coffee, that described as "East India Plantation" was sold in London at its lowest average in 1900, that average being £2 7s. per hundredweight, or $35\frac{1}{4}$ rupees. If the mints were open, and $28\frac{1}{4}$ rupees went to the pound, then $35\frac{1}{4}$ rupees would be equivalent to £1 5s. But even now I find (*Economist*) "good average Santos coffee" quoted in London at £1 6s. 3d. If £1 5s. per hundredweight (equivalent to £2 7s. per hundredweight at current exchange) is a losing price for India, while £1 6s. 3d. is profitable for Brazil, and if, in addition to this, we bear in mind the four considerations set forth above in examining the case for tea, I think it will be apparent that even free coinage of silver in India would not enable Indian

coffee to undersell Brazilian in London. Before a critic can validly argue that the Indian currency legislation has driven any particular Indian commodity out of a particular market, he must be prepared to demonstrate that it would have held its own in that market if the legislation in question had never been undertaken.

Before returning to my main subject, I may as well refer to another observation of Sir E. Sassoon's—viz., that "restriction of the coinage must have injured traders, and must tend periodically to bring about disturbances in the money market." As to the second half of this proposition, it is to be noted that the Bank of Bengal's rate of interest for demand loans on the security of Government paper has never been below 3 per cent., and only in one year as high as 12 per cent., during the eight years following the closure of the mints. During the eight years prior to the year of closure, the rate in one year was down to 2 per cent., and in two consecutive years rose to 12 per cent. There is little to choose between the two periods, but, as far as the evidence goes, it appears to indicate a tendency towards greater fluctuations with a variable than with a fixed exchange, which is antecedently probable.

I have now examined, I think, all but one of the assertions and arguments generally brought forward against the Indian currency legislation of 1893, and have shown that they are not consistent with facts. One argument remains—that that legislation has reduced the profits of the Indian trader.

I have no intention of shirking an analysis of this argument, because I believe it asserts a truth. There is all the more reason for examining it, because I have not observed in print any indication that critics have recognised the manner in which the contraction of the currency has really affected profits, the far-reaching nature of its influence, and the small extent to which it has affected any particular individual. And if my ideas on these points are not erroneous, I think they afford a standpoint whence the

observer may perceive at once that most of the evils charged to the account of the currency legislation have nothing to do with it at all. Before proceeding further, too, I may point out that the proposition now to be discussed—that the currency legislation has reduced the profits of the Indian trader—is a very different affair from the assertion that it has seriously injured the industries of the country, reduced the means of employment, and diminished the rate of wages. An alteration in the distribution of wealth does not imply a diminution of the total production of that wealth. The loss of an individual is not necessarily the loss of the country, any more than the annual death of many rabbits implies the extinction of the species *Lepus cuniculus*.

The currency legislation has raised, or at any rate tended to raise, rents and land-taxes. This may appear a hard saying to those in whose eyes a rupee is a rupee, regardless of purchasing power—the people who hold that a pound weight would always be equivalent to another pound weight, even if the two were placed in opposite scales of a balance with arms of unequal length. Nevertheless, I believe I can prove my assertion by reference to my primary axiom, that current coin of the realm is, like everything else in the market, subject to the laws of supply and demand. Suppose the supply of produce constant: then as the currency contracts, and rupees grow scarcer, the price of produce (its *money* value) will fall. In order to obtain the given number of rupees which constitute his rent, the farmer must set apart an ever-increasing share of his produce. The amount of produce remaining the same, the Government takes more of it, and there is less left for the producer. If production is not stationary, but increasing, the effect I have noticed is obviously enhanced, but *this enhancement is not due to contraction of the currency, but to increased output of produce*. This is important, but appears to be usually ignored. Let a farmer's out-turn of, say, wheat be $a + b$ cwt., where a is the share which he has to sell to obtain his rent (R rupees), and b the share left to the farmer to sell for his

own profit. After the rupee rises he has to set aside an additional portion of produce, say n cwt., towards his rent. The rent portion of the produce is now $(a+n)$ cwt., and the share left to the farmer is $(b-n)$ cwt. But the whole outturn is unchanged, for $(a+n) + (b-n) = a+b$, and the value of wheat remains unaltered. Now suppose the farmer grows more wheat, increasing his output by c cwt. The value of wheat must fall, since $a+b+c$ cwt. come for sale where there were only $a+b$ cwt. before. Therefore the farmer will have to set apart still more of his produce to realize his R rupees of rent; but *this result is not due to any appreciation of the rupee as regards commodities at large, but to the increased production of wheat*, the farmer's own crop; and a similar effect would follow from the farmer's throwing the additional c cwt. upon the market, even if the currency volume had remained unchanged. Whatever n may be, it does not affect the value of the algebraical expression $(a+n) + (b-n) + c$; in other words, we come to the familiar proposition of political economy, that rent does not affect the price of agricultural produce. Clearly, too, it may not be the farmer under consideration, but someone in the next province, who throws into the market the c cwt. above referred to; but this would afford the farmer no ground whatever for outcry against his landlord. In the same way, it is no fault of the Indian Government if Brazil floods any particular market with coffee.

"But," it may now be argued, "you admit that the artificial enhancement of the rupee has raised the Indian coffee-planter's rent. You admit that the Government takes a larger share of his produce. If he had the same share left to him as before he could live." This argument has force, but it will be observed that it abandons (as, indeed, it must) the contention implicit in certain criticisms, that the price of coffee in London is in any way governed by the exchange value of the rupee. The present argument is concerned with the planter's *net profit*. Now, net profit equals gross profit *minus* rent; gross profit equals price of the whole produce *minus* cost of production; price is merely

value estimated by money standard, which standard differs in different countries, and value is determined by the ratio of supply to demand. So the influence of rent in determining *net profit* does not come into question at all until long after the price is fixed.

If the nature of the effect of the currency legislation is what I hold it, that effect is evidently far-reaching. It touches not only the export trader, but every single producer, who pays a rent or a tax on land. The man who earns a low income pays no income-tax; the man who dispenses with foreign goods evades Customs duty; the man who abstains from Indian liquor, opium, etc., avoids Excise. But no producer can get away from the enhancement of rent implied in the rise of the rupee; and since to some thinkers this may appear a very serious indictment, it is desirable to inquire how far any particular individual is affected by this enhancement, and incidentally to discuss the contention I have indicated above as to the profits of the coffee-planter, whom, it must be understood, I have merely adopted as a type of those whose trade and means of livelihood are alleged to have been destroyed by the action of the Government of India.

We must have a point of departure for this inquiry. Let us take it as the time when the rupee was at 15d., before the closing of the mints. It is now 16d. Taking the algebraical symbols already made use of, we have

$$R = Pa;$$

where R is the rent with the rupee at 15d., and P the profit in rupees on the share of produce a . The rupee having risen by $\frac{1}{15}$ of its value, we have for the present rent $\frac{16}{15}R$; and therefore

$$\frac{16}{15}R = P(a + n),$$

where n is the additional share of produce set aside to defray the increase in rent. From these two equations we find

$$n = \frac{1}{15}a.$$

In other words, just as rent has risen by $\frac{1}{15}$, so the portion of produce required to defray it has risen by $\frac{1}{15}$; and the proportion which n bears to the whole out-turn $(a+b)$ is represented by the expression

$$\frac{1}{15} \cdot \frac{a}{a+b}.$$

This, and this alone, represents what the rise in the rupee from 15d. to 16d. has taken out of the producer's pocket. Suppose that a man paid so heavy a rent as to actually swallow up half his gross output, so that in his case $b=a$. The expression

$$\frac{1}{15} \cdot \frac{a}{a+b}$$

in this event becomes $\frac{1}{15} \times \frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{30}$. That is to say, if a man's out-turn is the same now as it was with the rupee at 15d., only $\frac{1}{30}$ (3·3 per cent.) of it has been taken from him to go into the pocket of Government in consequence of the rise in exchange. What, then, becomes of the assertion that the currency policy of the Government of India is one which taxes exports at 25 per cent.? If this assertion, made at the meeting of the East India Association last November, means that the rise in the rupee from 15d. to 16d. has taken away 25 per cent. of the producer's out-turn, then we have:

$$\frac{1}{15} \cdot \frac{a}{a+b} = \frac{25}{100} = \frac{1}{4};$$

$$\therefore \frac{a}{a+b} = \frac{15}{4} = 3\frac{3}{4};$$

$$\therefore a = 3\frac{3}{4} \times (a+b);$$

that is to say, the producer's rent, when the rupee was at 15d. amounted to $3\frac{3}{4}$ times his entire output! *Reductio ad absurdum* is often a potent argument, but seldom is it so conclusive as here.

A more general expression for n is

$$a \left\{ \frac{p-q}{q} \right\},$$

which represents, in terms of the rent-share with the rupee

at q pence, the additional amount taken out of the producer's pocket by the rise of the rupee to p pence. Now, if we take q to be successively 12d., 13d., 14d., and 15d., and p to be a penny higher in each case, we find that the expression for n becomes successively :

$$\frac{a}{12}; \frac{a}{13}; \frac{a}{14}; \frac{a}{15}.$$

In other words, for each rise of a penny in exchange, the additional rent-share taken out of the producer's pocket grows steadily less and less. The rise in exchange acts as a sliding-scale tax ; it is heaviest when exchange is low, and trade, consequently (on the theory of hostile critics of the currency legislation), best able to support it ; and as that ability (on the same theory) diminishes, so does the tax. This property of the tax, too, is a real and satisfactory one, even though the theory in question is fallacious.

Further, looking again at the expression which denotes the proportion of n to the whole out-turn, we see that it contains the factor $\frac{a}{a+b}$. The absolute value of this factor clearly varies directly as a ; in other words, the producer who loses absolutely (not proportionately) most by any given rise in exchange is the producer, who, to begin with, had to give a very large proportion of his produce to defray his rent. Let us see what conditions must pre-exist in order that a rise in the rupee from 12d. to 16d. may constitute a tax of 25 per cent. on the gross produce. Taking the most general expression for n , we have :

$$n = \frac{a}{a+b} \cdot \frac{p-q}{q};$$

$$\therefore \frac{a}{a+b} \cdot \frac{16-12}{12} = 25 \text{ per cent.} = \frac{1}{4};$$

$$\therefore \frac{a}{a+b} \cdot \frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{4};$$

$$\therefore \frac{a}{a+b} = \frac{3}{4};$$

or the rise of the rupee even from 1s. to 16d. ($33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.) could not act as a tax of 25 per cent. on the producer, unless his rent with the rupee at 1s. was so enormous as to swallow up three-fourths of his gross out-turn.

I do not attempt to deny that the rise in exchange may in some individual cases have increased n so far that $(b - n)$ may have no longer afforded the producer a livelihood. But probably every tax makes just that difference to a limited number of individuals who, prior to its imposition, had just enough income to balance expenditure, and no more. What I do affirm is :

1. That the currency policy of the Government of India has not been prejudicial either to the agricultural or manufacturing interests of the country.

2. That there is no evidence of its having tended to diminish wages or to bring about crises in the money-market.

3. That it has not affected, and, by the nature of its action, could not possibly affect, the course of prices.

4. That it has not affected the export trade of India, or handicapped India in her competition with free-silver countries.

5. That it has reduced the profits of the producer.

6. That this reduction is not nearly so great as is generally believed, and can be exactly calculated in any particular case.

7. That the reduction was in the nature of a gradually diminishing tax, the effect of which culminated four years ago, and has since remained constant.

8. That the cause of any other vicissitudes that have befallen, or may befall, the Indian trader must be sought for outside the currency legislation of 1893.

THE "INDIAN PHANTOM" NO PHANTOM, BUT A GRIEVOUS REALITY.

BY WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E., F.S.S., M.R.A.S.

MR. R. E. FORREST, the writer of the article entitled "The Indian Phantom," which appeared in this *Review* in October, 1902, had read an article from my pen written more than a year ago for a Bombay monthly review.* That article was a rejoinder to a communication to the last-named review from Sir Frank Forbes Adam, C.I.E., formerly of Bombay, and now resident in Manchester, and had relation chiefly to some statements previously made by me in the *Manchester Guardian*. In my *East and West* article I strictly confined myself to the points raised by Sir Frank Adam, and wrote on the assumption that my book, "'Prosperous' British India,"† which had been then published two months, would be known to readers generally, especially those interested in India. Mr. Forrest must be unaware of the existence of the particular contribution to Indian Economics which I have just mentioned, even though few books of recent years have been made the subject of so much comment. More than that, he apparently knew nothing of the calculations made by Lord Cromer (then Major Evelyn Baring) and Sir David Barbour in 1881, and announced in 1882. That these eminent men and able administrators, with all the knowledge at their disposal, considered that they could put the Indian non-agricultural income at half the agricultural income was quite unknown to him. He was (and no doubt still is) wholly unaware that, to check this estimate of non-agricultural income, I spent many months of exhaustive research into every conceivable authority, official and non-official, on Indian products of

* *East and West*, No. 3 (B. M. Malabari, Bombay).

† T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1901.

whatsoever kind, and worked out the total values for myself. I was not content, any more than was Mr. Forrest himself, with the *ad captandum* mode of ascertaining the non-agricultural income adopted by Lord Cromer and Sir David Barbour. But I did this: I went to the best authorities existing; I examined everything that the Indian Government and the India Office had to say on this important matter. Mr. Forrest did the opposite. He occupies page after page of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* with such comments as these:

"How make an estimate of the income of all the members of the village community, apart from the actual cultivators, with all their aids, dues, benefits, vails, donations, perquisites, their receipts in kind, and their payments in labour? How determine the income of the large class who receive a certain proportion of the grain produced, and the skins of all the animals which die in the village, except those which die on Saturday or Sunday, and the flesh of those that are cloven-footed—the flesh of the whole-footed going to another class—and who make payment, not only by the labour of their own person or that of another, but also by supplying two pairs of shoes a year to the ploughman and two to the woman who brings the bread into the fields, one leather rope, and one whip in the half-year; while for the boon and benefit of the dead animal they have to make return to the owner of one pair of shoes for an ox and two for a buffalo? How can you tell what the village barber receives for the discharge of his important and delicate functions, when so much of it depends on the number of betrothals and marriages?" (p. 245, October, 1902).

There are many more of a like kind. The economic fact that the greater part of that which my critic parades with laborious effort was merely a transfer from the cultivator to the barber, to the ploughman, to the women helpers, to many others—including the Government who received its taxes from the produce of the fields,—that these payments were merely a distribution of the means obtained from the

soil in whatsoever form, and had been already reckoned, never once becomes perceptible to his mind.

Mr. Forrest seems to have been troubled when he was brought face to face with my conclusions. How did he act? Did he concern himself, by a reference to authorities, to ascertain how far I might be right? On the contrary, he replied to a serious and most painstaking investigation, the results of which were available to him in the clearest form, with hazy and aimless speculations of his own. It might have been supposed that, had he intended to prove my conclusions wrong, he would have sought evidence to overthrow those conclusions. Had he thus acted, had he got upon any track leading to evidence, he would have found he had to deal not only with the writer of the article he condemns, but also with a great Anglo-Indian personage whose statement of a given condition of things ought to be implicitly accepted. He would have been brought face to face with Lord Curzon himself. Mr. Forrest, however, is not the sort of man who seeks evidence, and is content with naught but rigidly-tested evidence. He is a striking example of the heedlessness with which so many Anglo-Indians, officials and non-officials, allow current knowledge to pass them by. He imagines the idea—a genie-inspired, smoky idea, according to him—that the Indian people have on an average only one penny per head per day for subsistence to be a creation of my own. Until I put the average income at under one penny per head—"the gaunt and grisly" penny he calls it—there was no such idea current amongst men. So he supposes, and this supposition guides his observations. To him the fact, and the mode in which the fact was expressed, all turned upon my article in *East and West*. I wonder how many residents in India could answer a simple question on recent Indian politics, a question which certainly is altogether beyond Mr. Forrest's ken. The question is this:

"When was it stated, by the highest authority in India, that the total income of the agriculturists was such a sum

per annum as amounted to only seven-eighths of one penny per head?"

The majority would answer that the highest authority in India—by which term, of course, a Viceroy for the time being is meant—never said anything of the kind. If they were reminded that the Viceroy was Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and the occasion less than two years ago, they would be incredulous. Inattention to important statements, and carelessness as to current events, are very prevalent in India. Yet Lord Curzon did say this of the agricultural population of India—that is to say, of eight-tenths of the Indian people. It may be remembered by some people in India, and by a lesser number in this country, that in the autumn of 1900 I subjected certain statements in a speech by Lord Curzon, delivered in September or October of that year, to a somewhat close analysis. Certain Indian papers published this analysis. It became an occasion for so much general comment as to lead Lord Curzon, in the Legislative Council, in March, 1901, to answer it. He stated that, so far as the agricultural population was concerned, the average income was now Rs. 20 per annum. Lord Curzon at the same time declared this was Rs. 2 per head more than was the average twenty years previously. His Excellency's remark was based on incorrect information. But, had he been correct in this respect, a moment's consideration would have shown him that Rs. 20 means, in English currency, less than did Rs. 18 in 1880, and, besides, food is much dearer now than it was then. A simple sum in arithmetic will show that, so far from disproving my statement, Lord Curzon in saying this was constituting himself my strongest witness. Rs. 20, at 1s. 4d. to the rupee, equal 320 pence. This means that for 365 days there were only 320 pence available; that, again, means the exact amount in money or money value per head per day was seven-eighths of a penny. My figure is three-farthings for the whole population; Lord Curzon's for the agriculturists is one-eighth of a penny more. Neither equals what Mr. Forrest elegantly terms

"the ordinary, common, English, British penny, the penny of the slot. One penny. The beggar's dole." Yes, Mr. Forrest, the beggar's dole in an English street, which is many times repeated for him in the course of a single day, or the day would prove a bad day indeed for him, represents more than the income of the respectable Indian cultivator. As not a few get more than the penny, so there are vast multitudes who receive no more than one halfpenny per day. It is Lord Curzon who is the authority for this statement of fact. Maybe the phantom on which Mr. Forrest discourses in a manner as rambling as is the path pursued by a calf of a few weeks old, is no phantom, but a grisly reality. Lord Curzon it is who, in Council at Calcutta, as little knowing what he was doing as Mr. Forrest knew what he was writing about when he occupied many pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* with his disquisition, testifies to the real existence of "the dreadful spectre of starving millions, of a famishing continent." These be Mr. Forrest's words, and of them everyone zealous for the welfare of the Indian people may, with Gratiano, say to him :

"A Daniel, still say I ; a second Daniel :
I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."

If, before he presumed to criticise my whole argument, or what was a mere fragment of that argument, Mr. Forrest had gone to my book, he would have found that I prefaced my inquiry into the real income of the people of India with an explanatory statement as to what it is which constitutes the real income of India in an ordinary year. It appeared to me, I said, that there were two or three mutually exclusive methods of reckoning a nation's income. The great point of difference seems to be this : Ought income derived from stocks and shares earning dividends in the same country, and from professional and clerical services, to be added to the total value obtained from the products of the soil—surface-planting or growth and mining—and from the value imparted to those products by agricultural and indus-

trial labour? In the opinion of the present writer the answer is in the negative. Those incomes ought not to be included, seeing that they are paid from the respective products described. To include them would be to reckon a portion of the total income twice over, and thus to vitiate the result. The only action within the country is the distribution and consumption of this wealth, and also, maybe, certain rearrangements of the accumulations of wealth (if such a phrase can be used in connection with India after Sir Richard Strachey's observation, "*Consider the total absence of anything like accumulated wealth in India*"). But this distribution, this consumption, and this rearrangement, do in no wise add to the income of the country, for they are but a transfer of the country's wealth amongst the various classes, the producers giving to the consumers of their produce as tax-payers, as tenants, as employers of carriers, middlemen, and professional gentlemen.

Having thus established the principle on which the total income of a community should be calculated, I proceed to give (1) an estimate of the non-agricultural income from every conceivable and available source for the whole of India; (2) I make independent calculations for each of the provinces upon the data locally obtainable or to be found elsewhere. These separate calculations very nearly agree. So nearly, indeed, do they coincide as to establish the correctness of the two tested investigations.

I am told that I make no allowance for the varied incomes derived outside *pukka* agricultural work—that is, the income derived from cultivated crops—when, as a matter of fact, in no fewer than seventy-two items I had put the facts thus :

No.	Source of Income.					Value in £.
1. Opium...	3,166,887
2. Salt	6,066,661
3. Country-made liquor, say	20,000,000
4. Fisheries : 300,000 fishermen together obtain and sell fish to the value of	1,930,140

No.	Source of Income.				Value in £.
5.	Clothing: Allow 2s. 4d. per head per annum to the 231,000,000 inhabitants, the total requirements would be of the value of £28,950,000. Of this amount English looms supply £15,432,082 worth; cotton-mills in India (173), £9,469,490 worth, of which £1,636,294 worth are exported; leaving for village looms in all the 450,000 villages and the 200 or 300 populous towns, £3,784,722 or, say, £8 worth for each village: the proceeds of Indian mills and village looms amount to				13,517,918
6.	Forests (total receipts)				1,239,932

Manufactures, etc.

7.	Jute and hemp goods, less raw material included in agricultural income	1,937,841
8.	Iron and brass foundries	585,079
9.	Paper-mills (8)	416,060
10.	Breweries (28)	371,354
11.	Oil-mills	946,159
12.	Living animals	117,230
13.	Cement works	13,600
14.	Chemical works	33,722
15.	Coir, and manufactures of... ..	225,317
16.	Cutch factories	1,946
17.	Dairy farms	16,951
18.	Dye works	47,329
19.	Drugs and medicines	95,374
20.	Flour-mills	1,424,917
21.	Gas works	122,184
22.	Glass factories	3,864
23.	Gums and resins	80,492
24.	Hemp presses	2,480
25.	Hides and skins	4,967,089
26.	Horns	107,530
27.	Ice factories	52,313
28.	Ivory, and manufactures of	42,362
29.	Jewellery and precious stones	88,151
30.	Lac (of all sorts). The lac factories account for £330,484 only; I carry forward the export statement	580,930
31.	Manures, chiefly animal bones (again a minus discrepancy in the details, £71,298): export statement	272,268
32.	Mineral and aerated waters	69,956
33.	Potteries, not including village pottery work	43,167
34.	Potteries, village: earthen chatties and cheap goods for all uses	375,000
35.	Rope works	178,295

No.	Source of Income.	Value in £.
36.	Printing presses (this is wholly an estimate of my own; Government records are a blank)	750,000
37.	Saltpetre: The export value is given, but the details (Presidency and Province) amount to only £107,350	232,896
38.	Silk, raw	317,872
39.	Silk, manufactures of	116,602
40.	Soap factories	34,126
41.	Sugar factories	290,999
42.	Tanneries	420,424
43.	Tile factories	63,035
44.	Tobacco farms and factories	88,560
45.	Wool, raw	1,150,898
46.	Wool, manufactured	170,530
47.	Wool, manufactured, not produced in classed mills	18,307
48.	Wood and manufactures of... ..	1,090,048
49.	Miscellaneous: carpets, Benares ware, silver ware, etc.	88,560

Mineral Products.

50.	Coal	1,034,398
51.	Iron ore*	12,507
52.	Gold (it may be explained that, practically, all the gold mined in India comes from the State of Mysore†)	10,993
53.	Alum	4,200
54.	Gypsum	450
55.	Manganese ore	32,240
56.	Mica	15,004
57.	Soaps, fine	533
58.	Tin ore	2,553

* The production of iron is yet quite in its infancy, the ore being worked for the most part in the Raniganj district of Bengal, where it occurs in close proximity to the coalfields. According to the figures, which, however, are of doubtful accuracy, the production for all India in 1898 amounted to only 50,000 tons, of which nearly 42,000 tons were produced in Raniganj. Whether or not it will be possible hereafter to utilize the iron deposits of other parts of India—in the Central Provinces, Madras, and elsewhere—is a question which cannot yet be answered (F. and C. Stat: "British India," p. lx). While these pages are passing through the press, the directors of the Bengal and Nagpore Railway are said to be arranging to develop large fields of manganese ore in Chota Nagpore.

† No account is taken of the gold produced in parts of Northern India from the washings of river sands, because there are no means of stating the quantity statistically; but it is well known that it is entirely insignificant. Until the beginning of 1900 the gold produced in the mines was shipped from Bombay to London, there to be refined and coined; but since then most of the mining companies have been sending the gold to the Bombay Mint.

No.	Source of Income.					Value in £.
59.	Clay for building material	...	...	...	...	55,157
60.	Granite for building material	...	...	...	...	60,000
61.	Gravel and rubble	..	...	...	...	3,835
62.	Laterite...	...	...	...	...	766,991
63.	Limestone	...	...	...	...	141,479
64.	Sandstone	...	...	...	...	108,838
65.	Slate	...	...	...	...	4,029
66.	Petroleum oil	...	...	...	...	80,000

Other Objects.

67.	Ploughs: Not many new ploughs are made in each year, possibly under 100,000; in a portion of the Deccan it is stated that no new plough has been made since the disastrous famine year 1877	...	...	...	66,666
68.	Carts: making new ones and repairing old	...	...	...	189,500
69.	Boats on rivers and at ports: new boats and repairs	...	...	...	1,000,000
70.	Indian ships (total tonnage 66,728): Some are wrecked, others are withdrawn, every year there are fewer—a great industry at Calcutta and Bombay has been allowed to die; say, for repairs, etc.	...	...	...	100,000

Cattle.

71. Following the precedent of the Baring-Barbour inquiry, I include existing cattle produce in the agricultural production, with a set-off—that is to say, like the two gentlemen named, in my calculation profit from milk, ghi, etc., balances deductions which might be made on account of cultivation. All increase of cattle is counted as an addition to income in the year when the increase occurred. The period taken is prior to the famine of 1900-01, and in so far as the terrible loss of cattle is concerned, my calculation, if taken as representative of the present condition of things, is defective. That condition is very much worse than these figures indicate.

Increase of Cattle in 1898-99 compared with 1897-98.

	Number.		
Bulls and bullocks	1,579,915
Cows	758,560
Buffaloes	931,429
Young stock	5,433,486
Sheep	1,229,377
Goats	3,269,014
Horses and ponies	195,730
Mules and donkeys	96,518
Camels	61,196
Total	13,555,225

No.	Source of Income.	Value in £.
	If a value of Rs. 10 be put upon these animals all round, the calf one day old with the mature beast, it will represent a fair average. Take Rs. 135,452,250 at Rs. 15 to the £	9,030,150
72.	Sundries: for sources of income which may have escaped consideration, say about 15 per cent.	13,601,399
	Total	<u>£84,751,905</u>

In the sundries is included £300,000, approximately the contribution of Catholic and Protestant missionary societies towards the support of mission agents throughout India, and expended in India.

It is surely trifling with the subject for a writer, professing to answer an opponent, to be confessedly grossly ignorant of what it was that opponent had actually stated. A dozen times at least Mr. Forrest comments upon what he says he knows of his own personal observation, upon what he believes he has seen with his own eyes. Without having taken the trouble to verify any single statement among those he attacks, especially when dealing with averages based on fluctuations in exchange, he does not scruple to contradict students of economics who had not merely taken pains, but almost infinite pains, to ascertain the real state of things. He takes no account of difference in cost of food at different periods, and, though he indicates that an unskilled labourer in Northern India now gets only 2d. per day instead of 3d. when Rs. 10 equalled £1, and though he might know that in saying this he concedes the whole of the case he attacks—for the greatly increased price of food alone reduces the value of the daily wage as compared with the wage of thirty years ago by 50 per cent.—he does not appear to know that he has incidentally justified all I have said in the article he pooh-poohs without understanding what it was he pooh-poohed. He takes refuge in a remark which is the reverse of true, as I will show when I have quoted the remark. "We regard," he says, "the presenting of these estimates of daily earning in English money as most delusive and misleading. They lead to that earning

being judged of from an English standpoint, notwithstanding the enormous difference in circumstances, domestic and otherwise. Only 2d. a day for a family of four—a halfpenny a head. How dreadful! Yes, Here. But they live There" (p. 249, October, 1902). That is one point in which Mr. Forrest is particularly wrong. The people do not "Live There." Mr. Forrest apparently does not know anything of the statistics of living and dying in India. Let me introduce a few of them to him.

Comparing 1900 with 1880, the number of deaths in the respectively named years were :

In 1900	...	...	...	...	8,334,155
In 1880	...	...	...	...	<u>3,928,631</u>
Increase	...	...	...	...	4,405,524

That is to say, the death-rate was more than doubled; there was more than 100 per cent. increase.

Another comparison shows that, while in 1880 the average death-rate per mille was 20.98, in 1900 it was 38.90; and the average of the ten years 1891-1900 was 32. Meanwhile, in nearly every other country in the world the death-rate during the same period has decreased per mille, as may be shown by a few examples taken from many :

United Kingdom	...	...	from 19.4 to 18.4
Norway	...	...	" 16.6 " 15.9
Sweden	...	...	" 17.5 " 16.8
Prussia	...	...	" 25.8 " 21.6
Saxony	...	...	" 30.1 " 22.7

and so on, even poverty-burdened Italy dropping from 27.1 to 23.8.

This is so important a matter, and has so serious a bearing on the Forrestian complacency, that I must pursue the argument a little further, if haply he may become enlightened as to what really is going on in India.

Throughout the years 1891 to 1900 170 Indian people died to 100 British and Irish people.*

In 1900 217 Indians died to 100 British and Irish.

* The calculations throughout are per mille in both countries.

In 1900, in the rural parts of BOMBAY, 566 people died to 100 in the United Kingdom ; in the urban parts of BOMBAY, 390 to 100. In the PANJAB—urban, 300 to 100 ; rural, 240 to 100. In BERAR—rural, 450 to 100 ; urban, 470 to 100. In AJMER-MERWARA—rural, 860 to 100 ; urban, 666 to 100. In BENGAL—urban, 236 to 100 ; rural, 200 to 100. In the UNITED PROVINCES—urban, 233 to 100 ; rural, 166 to 100. In the CENTRAL PROVINCES—urban, 330 to 100 ; rural, 320 to 100.

During the best year of the last decade—namely, 1893—the year after the famine ravages of 1892, when the weakest had been removed, taking the whole of India together, the proportions were : rural, 140 Indians to 100 British ; urban, 177 to 100.

During the worst year of the decade (1897), as recorded in the "Statistical Abstract for British India," No. 36, the rural and urban distinctions for 1900 not being ready (1900 being three per thousand worse than 1897), the proportions were : rural, 190 to 100 ; urban, 240 to 100.

In the rural districts there does not now appear much to choose between the best year and the worst. India is more or less famine-stricken *all the time*.

There is yet another way in which this most significant and dreadful fact may be put. If existence in India had as good a chance of continuance as has existence in England, if the people living in the former country were as well fitted to contend with adverse circumstances as are those in our own land—

In 1891 1,900,000 Indians would not have died.

„ 1892 2,900,000	„	„	„
„ 1893 1,500,000	„	„	„
„ 1894 3,000,000	„	„	„
„ 1895 2,000,000	„	„	„
„ 1896 2,500,000	„	„	„
„ 1897 3,500,000	„	„	„
„ 1898 1,500,000	„	„	„
„ 1899 2,200,000	„	„	„
„ 1900 4,100,000	„	„	„

Total 25,100,000

And yet Mr. Forrest, referring to the Indian people who have one halfpenny of income per day, says: "But they live There." Once again, that is what they do not do. They Die There. Those who do not die are, many of them, nigh unto death, and their living must be a distressful and most painful life-in-death. The Principal Civil Medical Officer, in his annual report on the health of India a few years ago, declared that, for every person who died of fever, probably twenty persons were attacked with that disease. In 1900 the number of deaths from fever was 4,891,477. On this reckoning, made by an English physician, nearly 98,000,000 of our Indian fellow-subjects in 1900 suffered from fever. What a painful light this statement throws on the miserably poor physical condition of the Indian people! Fever is merely another name for starvation. "One hundred millions in India starving! That is altogether absurd!" Mr. Forrest will exclaim. As to that, I have for answer to him the remark that this is exactly the number of underfed people in British districts which the *Pioneer* of Allahabad ten years ago estimated as living in extreme poverty. "If we assume," said the *Pioneer*, "that the circumstances of Gaya are not exceptional—and there is no reason for thinking otherwise—it follows that *nearly one hundred millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty.*" "Extreme poverty" means insufficiently clothed or insufficiently fed, or both.

Mr. Forrest, and with him many others, think it dreadfully untrue and exceedingly shocking on my part to talk of an average income of three-farthings per day; further, where account has been taken of the rich and well-to-do people, for me to say that there is only one halfpenny per day of income for one hundred millions at least is to place me beyond the pale. But, then, Mr. Forrest and these others know nothing of the evidence. Let them note how an Anglo-Indian civilian, now occupying a high position in the India Office, more than confirms my most strongly-questioned statements. In one of the volumes of the

inquiry into the condition of the people of India in 1888, Mr. Holderness, writing from the Pilibhit district, says that "the landless labourer's condition is not all that could be desired. The united earnings of a man, his wife, and two children cannot be put at more than Rs. 3 per month. When prices of food-grains are moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their head, to buy cheap cotton clothing, and occasionally a thin blanket. The small cultivator is slightly better off, but he has not always enough to eat or sufficiently warm clothes." Let me analyze those figures for Mr. Forrest. Rs. 3 per month means Rs. 36 per annum. $\text{Rs. } 36 \times 16 \text{ pence} = 576 \text{ pence}$. There are four people among whom these 576 pence are to be divided. Four into 576 will go 144 times—that is to say, there are 144 pence each per annum, or 576 farthings. Therefore this official tells a much worse story than I have told, for he allows much

LESS THAN ONE HALFPENNY PER HEAD PER DAY!

"When prices of food-grains are moderate," this wretched family of four—no large families are *possible* among lower-class Indians—can "have one good meal a day," and "occasionally be able to buy a thin blanket." Of barley, a cheap food in Pilibhit in 1887-88, nearly 50 pounds could be obtained for a rupee. Say Rs. 30 out of Rs. 36 were spent on food: there would be 1,500 pounds of grain per annum to divide between the four. But in 1897 barley was selling in the United Provinces at only 20 to 25 pounds per rupee—say 23 pounds. Even if the full earnings were then obtainable, which they certainly were not, this family of four would have, not 1,500 pounds of food for consumption during twelve months, but only 700 pounds! Ah! if only Indian *facts* were studied, and fancies left in the realm of ignorance whence they came, Mr. Forrest, and those who think with him, would go farther in testifying against

the continuance of the existing state of things than any critic of Indian affairs of whom I know ought. Indeed, the men who know are far too feeble in their condemnation of that which they do know. Like Clive, remembering the stores of wealth which he might have purloined but did not, they may marvel at their own moderation.

Mr. Forrest, in his apparent ignorance of the work of the critic whom he presumes to set right, towards the end of his paper asks a number of questions, such as these: "What would be the value of such a figure for Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the North-West (now United) Provinces, the Panjab, Burma, all the great Provinces, for each separately? What is the value of the average of those figures? What is the use of the average figure in India itself? It does not show local conditions—may help to conceal them. There may be a rise in the figure and great distress in one Province. You have to fall back on the local, the particular, on the figures from which the average is derived; to give those would be of far greater interest and value. . . . What is the use of this average figure out of India? It leads to false impressions, false deductions. It has led to a proposal for sweeping away the Educational Department in India" (p. 250, October, 1902). Who would suppose that the system of reckoning by Provinces, which my critic here advocates, had actually been adopted by me, and was in print and in circulation ten and a half months before Mr. Forrest's article was published? Yet this is the fact. The following tables, prepared in October, 1901, and published in the following month, show how closely what Mr. Forrest desiderates was done.

(Seeing, as I have said, a sharp line cannot be drawn between the agricultural and non-agricultural population, many persons being both agriculturist and artisan, a further analysis is made. In it the population is divided into agricultural and non-agricultural communities, and the respective incomes have been divided per head accordingly. The proportions are :)

Two-thirds Agricultural.

Bengal.
Madras.

Three-fourths Agricultural.

North-West Provinces and
"India."
Burma.

One-third Non-Agricultural.

Bombay.
Panjab.

One-fourth Non-Agricultural.

Central Provinces.
Assam.

The agricultural income is :

Province.	Population.	Agricultural Income. £	Average. £ s. d.
Bengal ...	49,808,647	53,930,480	1 1 8
Madras ...	25,472,160	20,322,638	0 15 5
Bombay ...	12,389,664	16,211,348	1 6 2
N.W. Provinces & Oudh	31,797,551	26,148,998	0 16 8
Panjab ...	14,566,589	11,972,912	0 16 5
Central Provinces ...	7,383,989	8,464,736	1 3 0
Burma ...	6,915,851	11,470,887	1 13 2
Assam ...	4,591,651	8,197,077	1 15 8
	152,926,102	£156,719,066	

The estimate in 1882 was £233,333,333, which, if that, estimate were trustworthy, indicates a decrease of £77,614,267.

As to the non-agricultural income, it works out among the respective populations as follows :

Province.	Population.	Non-Agricultural Income. £	Average. £ s. d.
Bengal ...	24,904,373	21,701,177	0 17 1
Madras ...	12,736,229	15,650,523	1 4 1
Bombay ...	6,194,832	20,065,872	3 3 10
N.W. Provinces & Oudh	15,898,773	12,275,456	0 14 7
Panjab ...	7,483,295	6,899,392	0 18 5
Central Provinces ...	2,461,329	3,002,774	1 4 0
Burma ...	2,305,290	4,260,060	0 9 4½
Assam ...	1,530,550	1,058,863	0 12 1
	73,514,671	£84,914,117	

This is £71,752,550 less than was reckoned in 1882. The division I have made between agricultural and non-agricultural income is largely speculative, inasmuch as considerable income which is called non-agricultural is earned by the agriculturist to eke out the insufficiency of

his land and to counteract the minus food income which the land produces. Again, it is most difficult to apportion the income with accuracy, as a considerable number of people get much more than the average. The employes of Government, for example, in India and in England, take, for four and a half millions of people, who are engaged in "administration by State or by local bodies," and are occupied in military and naval defence, £37,000,000. Deduct this from the £264,000,000 representing total income, there remains £227,000,000 to be divided amongst 226,500,000 people, or

JUST OVER £1 PER HEAD PER ANNUM—20S. 1½D.,
TO BE PRECISE.

This condition of poverty, be it never forgotten, represents income in an ordinary year; in a famine year things become worse.

I have done with Mr. Forrest. I should never have begun with him had it not been that esteemed friends in India begged that the real condition of India, as opposed to his fancies concerning that condition, should be made clear. Probably I should have been wrong in ignoring him, for it is a matter serious beyond all conceiving that one so poorly equipped for a tourney as Mr. Forrest has proved himself to be should presume to dogmatize and to set right those who speak with fulness of knowledge and only after most careful research. The mischief done is very great. We all of us want to believe that everything is for the best in India, and that India is the best of all possible worlds for any man or woman to live in. It is so agreeable to imagine all is well, but in such matters imagination ought to have no place. Nowhere are the ultimate fact and absolute truth, so far as they can be obtained, so requisite.

Now for a few words with Mr. Alexander Rogers,* a

* See Mr. Rogers' article, "Indian Administration as viewed by Messrs. Dadabhai, Digby and Dutt," October, 1902, pp. 252-271.

long-retired and most estimable ex-Bombay civilian. It may be I shall need—in one instance, at least—to go over the same ground as that I have covered in my reply to Mr. Forrest. The cited statements, however, have a new setting, and throw fresh light on the question at issue. Mr. Rogers chooses to fix upon me all responsibility as to the value or otherwise of the figures I cite in “‘Prosperous’ British India,” chiefly those on pp. 328 to 353. His quarrel, all the same, is not with me; it is with the Government of India and the Government of Bombay, whose lead is scrupulously followed alike by those whom I quote and by myself. Consequently, if there be anything wrong in my deductions, it is not I, but the authorities, whose statements alone are my guide, who are to blame. It is true Mr. Rogers has discovered an error in the reprint of an address I delivered a year ago at a meeting in London which he attended; he rightly chides me for making the mistake which he indicates. He quotes (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, p. 257) from me the following total sum: £259,732,447; he adds a footnote, in which he says: “It may be noted here, by way of showing the slipshod method of accounting adopted, that in Mr. Digby’s pamphlet on ‘The Ruining of India,’ this total is given as £259,731,447.” A portentous mistake, truly!

			£
First statement	...	...	259,732,447
Second statement	...	...	259,731,447
			<hr/>
	Difference	...	1,000

“Pro-di-gi-ous!” as Dominie Sampson would have said. It should have been obvious to Mr. Rogers, as it was to others who noticed the mistake, that the figure “1” in the second statement was a printer’s error for “2,” and that the error had been overlooked by me in the proof. But no: according to Mr. Rogers the error is venial, and ought to put me outside all controversy, for it shows “the slipshod method of accounting adopted.” In passing, let me

say that this is a fair example of the character of the criticism to which alone my book has been seriously subjected. The ineptitude of such criticism is apparent. The confession involved in taking any notice of such an error, save to suggest the alteration of the figure in a future edition, is a great compliment to an enormous series of calculations in which, I regret to state, there are, in spite of the care I took, two serious mistakes; but, they tell against my argument and in favour of the Indian authorities. Mr. Rogers, however, has not discovered them, nor has any other Anglo-Indian critic. The main arguments of my book may be contradicted, but they are not refuted. As something must be said, a mistake of one figure by a printer's error in Rs. 357,00,00,000 is paraded! In his speech in September or October, 1900, Lord Curzon made a mistake of Rs. 100,00,00,000, and in Council (March 28, 1901) subsequently admitted the error, which, on the October speech reaching England, I had at once pointed out and had commented upon. Of course, the Viceroy corrected his 1900 statement.

Here is a rule of three sum for Mr. Rogers to work out: If a mistake of one figure, representing an understatement of Rs. 15,000 in Rs. 357,00,00,000, be a "slipshod method of accounting," what phraseology does Mr. Rogers think will rightly describe a mistake of 100 crores in 450 crores?

The fact that the author of the last-named mistake was the Viceroy of India, who ought to be above the possibility of error in such a matter, should be taken into account. Note should likewise be taken by Mr. Rogers of the circumstance that not one of the officials in India had observed the viceregal mistake, or, if they did discover it, apparently, did ought to right that which was wrong; the fact that Lord Curzon's correction of his error was admittedly based upon my observations concerning the mistake proves this.

A further point: Mr. Rogers has apparently read my book so superficially that he asks why I put the annual

borrowing of the ryots of Bombay at £1,822,667—the figure I stated—instead of £4,156,059, which would have been the amount for the whole Presidency. He is, he says, "astonished at my moderation" in not doing this. But I did do it. Not, however, in the haphazard way he suggests, but by paying due heed to the greater prosperity of some of the other districts, though that prosperity is now to be sought for and will not be found. Taking the official figures of Mr. Woodburn for nine districts,* I applied them—including old debts with new debts—to the twenty-two districts of the Presidency, including the nine mentioned, and quoted from a "Note on Agriculture in Bombay," which, published several years ago, has never, so far as I know, been contradicted. I took from the "Note" this passage: "Putting together both debts, annual and old, the interest charge to the ryot at 12 per cent. seems to come to close on £4,000,000 a year." The difference between this and £4,156,059 is not great, but it shows me—dealing as I did with old debts as well as new debts—as indicating the burden of indebtedness to be lighter than Mr. Rogers, with his mode of calculation, represented it to be. That, may I say? is a common attribute of my controversial methods; I never make things appear quite so bad as they really are.

Mr. Rogers is concerned for the well-being of the Bombay cultivators, and is satisfied that they are progressing in those things which make for rural prosperity. He says (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, p. 261): "The statistics collected at the revisions of the thirty-year Revenue Survey Settlements in the Bombay Presidency unmistakably show in the increased acreage under cultivation, in the greater number of cattle, and in thatched huts converted into tiled houses, very great progress." It is a pity he did not condescend to details. He gives no evidence in proof of his statements. I will ask him to reconsider

* Khandeish, Nasik, Nagar, Sholapur, Poona, Satara, Bijapur, Ratnagiri, and Thana.

his assertion in the light of the following facts concerning the four Deccani districts :

<i>Plough Cattle.</i>				
1889-90.		1899-1900.		Plus or Minus.
696,007	.....	478,283	.....	- 217,724
<i>Ploughs.</i>				
158,000	.....	104,890	.....	- 53,110
<i>Occupied Area in Acres.</i>				
8,590,000	.....	8,740,000	.....	+ 150,000
<i>Number of Acres per Pair of Plough Cattle.</i>				
24.7	.....	36.6	.....	+ 11.9
<i>Number of Acres per Plough.</i>				
54	.....	80	.....	+ 26*

Quiet contemplation of the meaning of these figures should smite every British administrator in Bombay, from Governor to Mamlatdar, dumb with shame. An English parallel in area to the Deccani districts, to which the above state of things refers, may be found in the counties of South Yorks, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Sussex, and Essex. Mr. Rider Haggard would have had a much worse story to tell of agricultural distress in England in his recent work, "Rural England,"† than that which he does tell of the generally prosperous parts of Eastern England which I have mentioned, had he been confronted with such a retrograde "progression." He, at least, has this grace, which seems to be denied to Anglo-Indian apologists, that he does not describe decay as virility, decadence as progress, vanishing live-stock as increasing live-stock.

Bombay, outside the capital city and a few towns, is the Cinderella of the Presidencies and Provinces of India—a Cinderella, however, who is doomed to remain among the

* I have seen it stated that there are places in the Bombay Deccan where a new plough has not been made since the famine visitation of 1876-77.

† Longmans and Co., 1903 (2 vols.).

cinders; for her no fairy coach and a Prince Charming seem ever likely to appear. Behind the superb, if plague-stricken, gateway of India lies a distressful country, are to be found a people in a pitiful condition. The incidence of taxation per hundred inhabitants in 1898-99 was Rs. 199 per annum, against an average for all India of Rs. 107, and an actual contribution from the respective Provinces as follows :

Bengal	...	...	Rs. 54	Madras	...	...	Rs. 132
Central Provinces	...	...	„ 90	United Provinces	...	...	„ 139
Panjab	...	...	„ 114	Bombay	...	...	„ 199

In detail the same mournful story can alone be told.

Take irrigation : in 1894-95, out of every hundred acres cultivated, the proportions stood thus :

Panjab	...	...	Acres 32	Madras	...	...	Acres 24
N.W. Provinces	...	...	„ 26	Central Provinces	...	...	„ 4
Oudh	...	...	„ 21	Bombay	...	...	„ 3'2

In the past eight years to those Provinces which already had much irrigation more has been given. Bombay practically stands where it did in 1894-95, not, however, because irrigation in Bombay is impossible.

Take the number of ploughs per hundred acres of cropped area :

Oudh	...	...	16	Panjab	...	...	9
N.W. Provinces	...	...	12	Central Provinces	...	...	7
Madras	...	...	11	Bombay	...	...	4'4

Finally, head of cattle per hundred acres of cropped area :

Oudh	...	...	88	Panjab	...	...	61
N.W. Provinces	...	...	69	Central Provinces	...	...	43
Madras	...	...	63	Bombay	...	...	35

Mr. Rogers, as a district official of many years' experience in Bombay, even though his service apparently* never

* The districts in which he served were Bombay city, Broach, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, and Surat. This circumstance accounts for much in Mr. Rogers' writings on Indian matters otherwise inexplicable, or, at least, difficult to understand.

took him into the Deccani districts, will appreciate the significance of these figures.

In view of the facts which I have cited, wholly from official sources, it comes, I venture to think, with ill grace from Mr. Rogers to lecture critics of British rule in India; the only object those critics seek to achieve is an amelioration of the condition of multitudes whose state is yearly getting worse under that rule. If matters be so satisfactory in Bombay as Mr. Rogers declares them to be, and if prosperity be increasing, will he explain how it is that the death-rate in that Presidency has increased so enormously during late years? Throughout the years 1891 to 1900 170 people in India per mille died to 100 British and Irish people in the United Kingdom, while all over India in 1900 217 Indians per mille died to 100 people who passed away in Great Britain. Worse than that, far worse;—in the rural parts of Bombay, where every material condition should make for good health in a well-nourished and properly-clothed community, 566 people died to 100 in the United Kingdom, while in the urban parts 390 died to 100. Nine people perished in the rural and urban districts combined of one country against two in the other country! Matters were so bad in other parts of that India, with the state of which Mr. Rogers is abundantly satisfied, that in Ajmer-Merwara, under the direct rule of the Government of India, 860 rural folk died to 100 rurals in England (nearly nine to one!), and 666 urban people to 100 in England (nearly seven to one!); while in Berar, similarly advantaged in the way of direct rule, the proportions were: Rura, 450 to 100; urban, 470 to 100. Much more most distressing information of the same sort is recorded in the "Statistical Abstract of British India," No. 36, a book which probably not twenty members of Parliament handle in a year, and which scarcely half a dozen in the whole ever studies. I know of only one such student. I mention member of Parliament, because Sir Henry Fowler has said of himself and his colleagues: "We are all members

for India." While the suffering is as it is, it behoves apologists for the Government which permits that suffering to occur to be very chary in casting aspersions at those who are not responsible—(if expressed concerning those who are responsible, the aspersions might not be out of place)—but merely call attention to the wrong, in the hope that a remedy may be provided.

Mr. Rogers speaks of the "irresponsible croakers" who "give no credit for good intentions on the part of the powers that be." It may be there are such people. I am not one of them, as everything I have ever written on Indian matters will testify, especially that pamphlet, "The Ruining of India," from which Mr. Rogers has quoted. "Let the galled jade wince, my withers are unwrung." Does Mr. Rogers think by such remarks he helps forward the cause he wishes to benefit?

I should like to conclude this article by constituting its closing pages the medium for an appeal to all who are interested in the welfare of the Indian people. No fitter medium for such an appeal as I have in mind can be found. The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* is known to and seen by pretty well every one who gives earnest heed to the condition of India. Men of all shades of thought on Oriental affairs read its pages. A great controversy has arisen as to how it fares with our fellow-subjects in that vast continent of the Orient which is under British dominance and which seems destined so to remain as long as the sun and the moon shall endure. It might so remain with advantage to all concerned would Britons but vitally interest themselves with the real India, the India of the myriad villages, and not simply with the India of the five cities in which a decent hotel for the globe-trotter is to be found. I will so remain if Englishmen will stand side by side with Indians, and try to see things as the Indians see them, but not otherwise. There ought to be union amongst all who are interested in India, especially among the Englishmen who,

officially and non-officially, profess to care for India. When one gets past the fringe of controversy to things as they are, there is found to be substantial agreement between those who are seeming irreconcilable antagonists. These apparent opponents, when the bed-rock of discussion is reached, are seen to be not really antagonists, but protagonists, all testifying, even if in varying degrees, to one and the same conclusion. All really tell the same story. The difference is merely one of detail. An impartial investigation into what is said concerning the condition of His Majesty's lieges in India would show that the difference between the Secretary of State for India (judging from his most recent Budget speech in Parliament*), Lord Curzon, and the *Pioneer* newspaper of Allahabad, on the one hand, and the author of "' Prosperous ' British India " and those who assert like conclusions with him on the other, is merely one of degree. In principle, as I have said, all the parties, seeming assailants and seeming defenders alike, are at one. The only difference is as to a little more with some and a little less with others. That most terrible poverty and consequent suffering exist in India, all are agreed. That some parts are prosperous, everybody admits. The only difference—let me emphasize the point—is as to the extent of the unprosperous parts of the Empire. Even here, if a round-table conference were held, and dispassionate debate took the place of acrimonious and personal comment, agreement would not be impossible ; indeed, it would be certain,

* Lord George Hamilton's words spoken on November 10, 1902, were as follows : " But whilst I deny as a grotesque libel the statement that the masses of those under our rule in India have gone back in material prosperity, I admit readily that India is a very poor country—(hear, hear)—that there are dense masses of poverty located there, that the partition between the ordinary wage of the coolie and the indigent is very thin, and that their general standard of life and comfort is far below that of European nations. And I admit that—not from over-assessment, but from certain mistakes which I think have been associated with our land assessment—there is a great increase in the indebtedness of the cultivating classes—(hear, hear)—and therefore these facts always should be present to us when we consider the financial system in India."

so slight is the difference. Between Lord Curzon's estimate of the income of seven-eighths of the people and my own as to the income of the whole of the people, there is only half a farthing per head per day. Lord Curzon's calculation and my own particular calculation, which is so much decried, the more decried as the factors of the problem are not understood, stand thus one toward the other :

<i>Lord Curzon.</i>	<i>Mr. Digby.</i>
Seven-eighths of a penny per day : 320 pence per annum.	Three-fourths of a penny per day : 274 pence per annum.

Difference between Lord Curzon and Mr. Digby : 46d., or
3s. 10d., per annum ONLY.

Similarly, Lord George Hamilton's "dense masses of poverty" is merely my own most pronounced statement finding loose expression instead of accurate definition. Come to close quarters, examine the evidence on which both parties base their conclusions, it will be found that

"thin partitions do their bounds divide."

So far for the official parties to this great controversy. How is it with the non-official champions on the same side ? The *Pioneer* newspaper, published at Allahabad, may be taken as the representative of this class, not a large one, but much in evidence because of its many facilities for getting at the ear of the public. I have quoted on a preceding page (p. 13) the conclusion come to by the *Pioneer* in 1893, that "nearly one hundred millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty." Since that sentence was penned, India, in one part or other of its wide dominions, has repeatedly been in the grip of famine. So far as the price of food is concerned, all India is continually famine-stricken. The famine prices of former times are the normal prices of the present time. The hundred millions of starving folk in 1893 are probably one hundred and fifty millions in 1903. But whether the number be one hundred millions or one hundred and fifty millions

is merely a question of degree—a question of important degree, no doubt, but still only of degree. Whatever be the light in which this stupendous fact be considered, as the *Pioneer* says, “the fact of the poverty is there, and a most unpleasant fact it is.” No doubt it is true that “the remedy is less obvious”; to some it may “indeed be remote to the point of obscurity.” On the other hand, the remedy may not be so very hard to discover if the valour which in the past gained India, and the genius which to-day rules the Empire, be earnestly applied to the solution of the problem. The journal just mentioned thinks it is a matter of there being too many mouths to feed.* The crux of the problem is not to be found in that statement. When there was but a fourth of the present number of inhabitants in the United Kingdom, there was much less wealth than there now is. India is far from having as many people within its borders as its fields properly cultivated, as its towns with manufacturing industries, could feed and support. Even in officially-declared famine years the stocks of food hold out: what does not hold out is, for tens of millions, the wherewithal to pay for the food. The problem is a hard one. It is not insoluble. It can be solved. It will be solved just so soon as those who now are agreed that there are “dense masses of misery” will go a little farther and agree upon the details of the misery. That done, the consideration of the remedy would necessarily follow. I speak as one who has had an unenviable share in controversy, as one who is a persistent hater of controversy, save in so far as controversy may be necessary to bring out obscure facts. I do not hesitate to say that remedies are at hand which would lift India entirely out of the horrible pit and from the miry clay in which she now

* “It is no doubt a beautiful trait of native life, that the meals which the elderly members of the family deny themselves go to the children. As one of Mr. Grierson’s informants puts it: ‘The children always get two meals; we cannot see them die.’ Nevertheless, to reduce the problem to the simplest term, it were better if the children were less numerous.”—*Pioneer*, May, 1893.

remains forlorn, an object of pity to all who will see her as she is. And, I even dare to believe, if the dozen men who, in the various respects above mentioned, are most conspicuous in this controversy were to meet a sufficient number of times, and were earnestly desirous to arrive at a conclusion which would relieve India of its present calamities, that conclusion would be found. The conclusion is not unattainable. In essentials there is agreement between the most widely separated of the controversialists, and if they would they could unitedly find a way out. "'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished." Will it come? Probably not. Controversy will continue, even though the sound of loud discussion over starving men constitutes one of the sorriest sights humanity can gaze upon. "'Tis true, 'tis pity; and pity 'tis, 'tis true."

THE INDIAN BUDGET OF 1902-1903.

BY GENERAL W. F. FISCHER, R.E.

IT is very satisfactory to learn from the debate on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons in November, 1902, that nearly one quarter of the members composing the House attended on the occasion. This is a great improvement since the days of Bright and Fawcett, who used to say, "If you want to empty the House, just begin to talk of Indian affairs, and you will soon be speaking to deserted benches." In those "good old times" an honourable member inquired if India was not somewhere on the other side of the Black Sea. There is therefore much to be thankful for nowadays, when some little interest is being taken in the House of Commons about an Empire such as Rome never possessed.

Before considering the figures of the Budget, we would observe that in the debate Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.) referred to the Act of 1858 as being still in force; if so, we would suggest to the honourable member to ask the Secretary of State for India on what authority the provisions of Clauses 56-59 of that Act have been entirely set aside, and the officers of the late East India Company have been deprived of all the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by the Queen in Parliament; and are told by the India Office, if they want to secure this guarantee, they had better try to get it in the Royal Courts of Justice, London, with their empty purses, by an action against the Secretary of State for India, whose costs will be paid out of the revenues of India. If Sir M. Bohnaggee is so anxious to secure the rights of British subjects for the people of India, instead of involving the Imperial Government in a dispute with independent Colonial Governments in the matter, we would suggest to him the advisability of bringing to the notice of the House of Commons that *all* His Majesty's subjects in

India have been deprived of their rights to petition the Sovereign *directly*, according to the Bill of Rights of 1689, by the orders of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, as published in the *Gazettes* of the Government of India. Such proceeding creates in the minds of those who are made the victims of it a sense of a gross wrong and injustice, because they are too poor to secure their rights at law in London. The House might at least come to their help, and insist on a Parliamentary guarantee being faithfully fulfilled, the honour and integrity of the Crown vindicated fully by the Legislature, and not at the expense of those who have been deprived of all their hard-earned means in the most arbitrary manner possible, and, in my opinion, in contempt of Parliament.

The first item in the Budget dealt with by the Secretary of State for India is "the surplus," but how this has arisen is not explained. If such surpluses are real, then the taxation of the country should be reduced in all fairness, so as to take for Government purposes as little as possible from the means of the people. Otherwise financial results are of no value whatever, unless it can be clearly shown that they have been realized without oppressing the people in any extraordinary manner. For instance, we are told that a special gold fund has been established "for the purpose of giving stability to exchange," of which no less than £3,600,000 is invested in consols in the name of the Secretary of State. But we are not informed how this fund works for the benefit of the people of India, at whose expense it must have been raised, for a gold fund does not spring out of the ground like mushrooms; and what benefit can there be in withdrawing so much capital from circulation and locking it up in Consols at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in England, when capital is so much needed in India to develop its industries by public works, such as canals and railways, roads, storage reservoirs for water, etc., which are all absolutely necessary for the welfare of its population in general, as Mr. Hawkshaw, the President of the Civil Engineer

Institution, London, has, in his address, in November, 1902, so clearly pointed out? To take money, then, out of the pockets of the people of India, who are now paying 48 per cent. for its use, and invest it in England at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., does not show very brilliant financing without some further explanation of the advantages of such a proceeding. The rate of exchange depends on the "higgling" of the market, as Adam Smith says, and any interference with this by a Government is to be deprecated, for this must be prejudicial to the interests of the public at large; how much more so, then, must it be when capital is drawn away from profitable employment and locked up for no good purpose whatever at the smallest rates of interest in the market? Much credit is given to "two eminent financiers" during a period of forty-four years, but why or wherefore it is difficult to understand. In less than half that time Lord Cromer has placed the finances of Egypt on a basis of "assured solvency," and developed the industries of that people by "leaps and bounds." No attempt is made to show that anything of the kind has been done for India in the past half-century; in fact, as the bazaar rate for lending money has increased from 24 to 48 per cent. during this period, it is quite evident the country has become more and more steeped in poverty, and less able to bear the strain of famines, wars, etc.

We are told there has been a steady growth of the "Customs revenue," based on the external trade of India, which has increased in ten years by £33,000,000, less than half a crown per head of population, or less than threepence per annum per head of population. If the trade of the country progresses at this rate, it may in process of time equal that of Egypt, but it is not within any measurable distance of doing so at present.

As regards railways, it appears that £235,000,000 is the capital account, at present, for some 25,300 miles of open line, and that there is now a profit of £795,000, which is at the rate of 34 per cent. only on the above capital, after

more than fifty years of working on this system! In previous years there was a loss of £458,000 (*including interest*) per annum, on an average, and apparently all these losses and interest on account of railways have been charged off to revenue, which is all provided for by the people of India in taxes, etc., so the above capital account by no means represents what this country has had to pay for these works during more than half a century, which now yield at the best only '3 per cent. Is it any wonder, then, that the country has become so poor, and the cry of its distress is so universal? In irrigation works, as soon as any capital is sanctioned for their constructions, the estimates are charged 4 per cent. *compound* interest, and the money for them is dribbled out in the smallest doles possible, so that it takes decades to complete any large project. For instance, the revised estimates for the Godavery works amounted to about 35 lacs of rupees, and it took over twenty years to work out the estimates by the system adopted in India; whereas if the money and establishment had been properly *provided*, the works would have been completed in five or six years. As it is, those works have been charged with interest at compound rates, all remissions have been given against the water-rate, which has been made as low as possible, nevertheless they have repaid all capital outlay ten times over, have increased the revenue from about 20 lacs a year to about 115 lacs a year, have developed the trade of the district twenty-fold, and have established general prosperity throughout the district by enabling its population to carry on their industries in great security, independent of the rainfall in every season. This population has increased from 600,000 in 1850 to upwards of 2,500,000, and famine is unknown amongst them; but the works are still being charged interest on some imaginary capital, according to India Office financing!

When Sir H. Fowler says the passenger traffic on these railways indicates a satisfactory progress, he must have

ignored what the passenger traffic on English railways really is. In 1901 those railways carried over 1,200,000,000 passengers—if we include season tickets—and the population at home is only about 41,000,000, so the whole population was carried thirty times over in one year. In India, with a population seven times greater, one-half the people do not use the railways at all in any season. Sir Henry says nothing about the goods traffic, for the best of all reasons, as he learnt from the Maharajah of Durbanga there were “no feeders” to the lines, a complaint which has been chronic among all railway engineers for more than half a century. If Sir Henry wishes to learn the value and importance of roads, we beg to recommend him to study the address of Mr. Hawkshaw above referred to, for railways or canals without roads are about as useful as a fifth wheel of a coach.

In the matter of land revenue there are the old, old difficulties, repeated year after year for more than twenty centuries, and no progress has been made in solving them, and no progress is possible in assessment and settlement as long as we continue trying to collect land revenue on any of the ancient systems of the country, for these all ignore the fundamental law which so limits the production from land—viz., “after a certain and *not very advanced* stage in the progress of agriculture, it is the law of production from the land that, in any given state of agricultural skill and knowledge, by increasing the labour the produce is not increased in an equal degree, or, to express the same thing in other words, every increase of produce from the land is obtained by a *more* than proportional increase in the application of labour to the land.” This general *law* of agricultural industry is the most important proposition in political economy, and the one which has been most ignored and neglected in every system of collecting land revenue in India in all ages up to the present day. It is, then, no wonder there is so much difficulty in dealing with it. “Land may be inferior, either in fertility or in situation.

The one requires a greater proportional amount of labour for growing the produce, the other for carrying it to market." In India we have neglected almost entirely these two leading or guiding principles, and left the land destitute of the only means by which it can be profitably cultivated; hence, as population has been increasing under British rule, and more food has to be raised for their wants, the extent of land to be cultivated for this purpose *alone* has had to be extended at a continually *increasing cost* in labour to the people, and, as we have provided them with no better means of cultivating the land, or disposing of its produce in the best and cheapest manner possible in the markets of the world, the assessment is made the great subject of complaint, and is always cropping up, and will do so continually until we change our whole system and afford the land those means it absolutely requires, as agriculture cannot be carried on successfully in any country of the world without "a good and abundant supply of water." And as this is the chief industry of India, and is also the most important source of revenue to the Government, is it not lamentable to see how little has been done towards securing a proper water-supply for the people of this country, who have been taxed up to the mast-head for railway works, whilst their principal industry, on which everything depends, has been entirely neglected?

It appears from this debate that in three years the sum of only £2,000,000 has been expended on irrigation, which is less than a farthing per acre, to secure the crops from withering, to support the lives of man and beast, to keep them in good working condition, and to place the land revenue in a position of reliable security.

The water-supply of every country, as Mr. Hawkshaw points out, is one of *ever-growing importance* as population increases, for this element is absolutely necessary for (1) domestic purposes, for (2) irrigating, for (3) water-transport, for (4) water-power, and, lastly, to regulate flood discharges, all dependent on the rainfall and the rate at which

it flows off the ground. In India it is necessary to consider also the losses by evaporation, the intensity of the rainfall in twenty-four hours in the tropics, and its proper use and distribution, so that all waste shall be avoided as much as possible in a country where the rainfall varies so much as it does in India, from 600 inches in one place to about 18 inches in a year in another place.

Mr. Hawkshaw also shows that for such rivers as we have in India, excepting those which take their rise in the Himalaya Mountains, *the only remedy* is to store the water in large reservoirs constructed on them, as there are no lakes in the country which can be made use of for this purpose, as in America and in Egypt; and it is not saying too much when it is pointed out no such works have yet been constructed in India in any age; the old tank system of South India only answers for local purposes for one or two villages, but does not and cannot possibly supply the wants of the country in general in the manner the great dams on the Nile are calculated to do. There is absolutely no great difficulty about this matter—at least, in South India; good sites for such works have been selected for years, but nothing has yet been done to carry out the works: for instance, the dam proposed to be constructed by Sir A. Cotton in 1858-59 across the Toongabudra River, is even now in the state it was in when he left India in 1860. This reservoir is calculated to be able to supply with water about 1,000,000 acres of land in the Bellary district, 500,000 acres in the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts, and about 1,500,000 acres in the Nellore districts, and to be able to maintain a navigable canal from near Bellary to the coast. Yet such a project was not even mentioned in this debate, and its value and importance considered at all. There are, besides this one dam, dozens of sites on the rivers of South India in which water can be stored with the greatest advantage, but little will or can be done until we change our whole system of working in India, as Lord Cromer has done with such admirable success in Egypt.

An Irrigation Commission wandering about the country to *learn how* a water-supply should be done, instead of *teaching* the people how to establish this in any proper manner, cannot by any possibility be of any use. They will prepare a long report in due time, and after this has gone the round of the official classes it will be shelved in the usual way, unless Parliament takes up the subject seriously and insists upon a matter of "such ever-growing importance" to the people being carried out to the fullest extent possible.

It answers no good purpose to complain of the indebtedness of the ryot, of the settlements, or of the land revenue, whilst we leave out of all consideration the principal elements which the land requires. For successfully cultivating it, it requires chiefly (1) a good and abundant water-supply convenient for man and beast, and (2) good common roads, so that all farming operations can be facilitated, and the produce conveyed, *in all seasons*, to the canals and railways for transport to the markets. The people of India are quite alive to their own interest, and when they see an officer working to promote it, they will *at once* co-operate with him, and give their assistance freely. One great cause of the railways being such a miserable failure in India is occasioned by the people not seeing what use these works can be to them, when they find themselves and their cattle starving for want of water, their crops withering by the failure of the rains, and a whole year's labour again lost, and the time coming round again for the assessment to be paid up, and most of their little capital entirely wasted by having to sell their live-stock or other property to save themselves from being sold up for arrears of revenue, and so reduced to the position of day-labourers in a poverty-stricken country, where daily wages are hardly sufficient to maintain life. The numbers of paupers are so increased in India that the smallest wage is fought for—a sad lot to look forward to in this life!—but there is no other to hope for under the present system of land tenure and administration. What

possible benefit can they derive by being told the railways travel at the rate of twenty or forty miles per hour ?

Give these same people the means they want for cultivating the land, as we have done in the Tanjore, Kistna, and Godavery districts, and they will soon use the railways ; in fact, the Tanjore people have already raised funds for constructing such a railway, which is much needed in the district, while all the capital laid out by the Government during more than half a century pays a very precarious dividend of only '3 per cent., and the railways are carrying produce *at the public expense* to places where famine is prevailing.

It is, perhaps, of little use to say anything about the advantages of water-transport and water-power, as these are very clearly indicated in Mr. Hawkshaw's most able and interesting address, matters which engineers in all parts of the world, except India, are vigorously promoting. Considering the great economical advantages to be obtained by using water in the various ways which I have indicated, it will be a happy day for India when such a system of distribution can be adopted, so as to give a good and abundant water-supply for man and beast, to save them from perishing by thirst and hunger, and are supplied with good common roads, so that they can convey the products of their industry to markets, and thus be able to pay the assessment on their lands without any coercion, as already has been done, and is doing, in the Delta districts of Madras ; for the land there has now a money value varying from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 600 an acre, according to fertility and convenient situation, whilst the railways in all India have not enhanced the value of real estate by a single farthing per acre, though £235,000,000 have been laid out on them, and taxation enormously increased, to provide for the losses on them and for the interest on the capital outlay. It is the fashion to say this taxation is chiefly due to military expenditure, and to conceal the real losses on the railways. This is very misleading, for the great poverty of the people is due to

the enormous capital wasted on railways, which are not required in the *present condition* of native industries, at the same time that the land has been deliberately deprived of the *only means* by which it can be profitably and economically cultivated. Lord Cromer knew this well, and avoided this great error in Egypt, and in less than twenty years he has done more for the benefit of its people than we have done in a hundred years for the people of India; for at the present moment we are still groping in the dark by an Irrigation Commission, as if engineers had never studied and learnt years ago how to provide a good and abundant water-supply by properly storing water in such countries as India. In fact, Sir A. Binnie had shown the right way in India by his Nagpore water-works in 1870; yet thirty years afterwards this Irrigation Commission is just trying to *learn* the business! What good can possibly result from such proceedings? Very much was said, in the debate to which I have referred, about the salt-tax, the opium, and Excise revenue; but these are very small and unimportant matters so far as the general welfare of the community is concerned. If a pledge was given by the British Government that the salt-tax would be reduced at a certain time, it is simply wrong not to have duly redeemed this pledge, especially in a country like India, where the people are taught to consider the pledge of the English Government is truth itself, and any departure from its rigid performance is only yielding to the common practices of their old rulers under the cutchery system. In regard to the other two taxes, they are levied on luxuries, and not on the necessities of life, and if they were abolished to-morrow, the profits would simply go into the pockets of those who secure the trade in them. It is not very clear how agricultural banks or Government loans are to benefit the ryots *permanently*. The Banks can only lend money on good security, and at the current rates of interest the ryot cannot afford to give money, for his crop may fail in three seasons out of five in consequence of the rainfall being unfavourable.

How is the land of the country to be benefited permanently? In order to improve the agriculture of India, the tenure of land requires to be much simplified: some such law as Joseph established in Egypt 3,000 years ago would perhaps meet this difficulty; that is, one-fifth of *annual* yield of the land in any season should be paid to the Government, and *no arrears* of land revenue be allowed. If the ryot is found to be deliberately cheating the Government, he forfeits his claim to the land without remedy; if he is guilty of giving any bribes to any Government official, he will be liable to the same penalty, and the official to instant dismissal from the public service, with loss of all claim to pension. The ryot to be assured that *as long as* he pays the Government demand fairly and honestly the land belongs to him and his heirs for ever; he will thus have fixity of tenure, fair taxation, and freedom of sale secured to him, and be a free man to do the best he can with his labour and capital. At present he is held in bondage by the ancient cutchery system of the country, and liable to be ruined at any moment under pretence of securing revenue for the Government.

As Mr. Hawkshaw points out, "canals, railways, and roads are all necessary for the carrying trade of any country." It may not be possible to establish canals so easily as railways in some parts of a country, and therefore railways have superseded them in England; but in France they have spent close upon £100,000,000 in improving their water-ways, and twenty years ago abolished all tolls on them, so that French agriculture is more remunerative than the same industry is at present in England; and as land carriage can never compete with water carriage in the cost of conveying transport goods of small value and great bulk, such works should be established in India both for irrigation and navigation purposes as far as possible; but India has never yet been properly examined to see where canals can be profitably established and supplied by large storage reservoirs of water. But for all *general purposes* in the cultivation of the land, roads are far more useful than

either canals or railways, as they can be readily constructed all over the country, and their gradients can be more easily adapted to all parts of any district. These are the principal works for a landlord, like the British Government in India, to most seriously attend to: the abundant supply of water for all purposes, secured in the largest possible reservoirs, and good common roads to provide the cultivators with means for carrying on their farming as economically as possible. If these are done in a proper manner we shall hear very little of the salt-tax being a burden, or the ryots being hopelessly in debt; for as soon as the people learn it is to their interest to be industrious in the cultivation of the land, they will attend to their occupations out of self-interest, as they already do in the Delta districts of Madras, and we shall hear no more of the Government being oppressive in its assessment or settlement. This charge against the English Government in India is totally without foundation; in fact, our rates are at least 40 per cent. less than those prevailing in Native States at the present moment. Where we have failed is in following old native ideas in collecting land revenue, and not affording the land those means which it absolutely requires for its successful and profitable cultivation.

If the House of Commons has no time to devote to Indian affairs, a Committee of the House of Lords might be able to attend to them, assisted by men chosen from *all classes*, who have had experience in India, and not from the *services only*—all their proceedings to be carried on publicly, as the proceedings now are in both Houses of Parliament. In this way the public at home would be able to acquire a full knowledge of India and its affairs, and so take an interest in the government of a country in which are nearly 300,000,000 of His Majesty's subjects, whose interests cannot be attended to otherwise in any proper sense.

There is no more mischievous idea in the world than the old parrot cry that Indian affairs are a "mystery," and can

only be understood and transacted in a peculiar way—an old system which has wrought much evil in the country in all ages, whose authors, grossly selfish, have acted in total disregard of the interests of their fellow-countrymen. It is a shame and disgrace to us to have so long subjected ourselves to a system which acknowledges that its ways cannot bear the light of day. A system, as Bacon even had taught us, should be *at once* discarded by all who desire the welfare of a community, and is abhorrent to every principle of the civilization of modern times.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT HANOI, TONKIN.

BY CAPTAIN C. J. W. PFOUNDDES, JAPAN.

THE International Congress at Hanoi, which was held from December 3 to 7 last year, may be considered as a success, like all that the French have essayed in their Indo-China possessions recently, and the Exhibition has been the peroration of their pronouncement respecting their programme of the immediate future. The statesmanlike policy that now obtains in the council chambers of the executive and in the directorate of the Exhibition, has no better illustration than the practical object-lesson of the Exhibition, its stately central grand hall and solid wings and annexes, and also the far-sighted programme, everything being carried out thoroughly and solidly—no half measures—in establishing law and order, founding a grand colonial empire in the Far East, embracing the South-Eastern regions of Asia.

The able diplomatists who make their voices heard to-day in the councils of the executive of Franco-Indo-China affairs, have practically shown their appreciation of Orientalists' and other savants' researches and studies by establishing the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*, and deciding to devote the magnificent central buildings to the permanent use of the larger institution, evolved from "*L'École*" for the study of ethnography, philology, and Orientalism generally connected with the regions in possession of the French, and of the arts and industries to exploit the potentialities, natural resources, etc., thereof for the benefit of the French colonists, the natives, and, of course, the French nation at large. The culmination has been the convening of an International Orientalists' Congress at Hanoi during the time of the Exhibition.

The generous and lavish hospitality accorded, together with a hearty welcome, to the Orientalists, guests, and other

visitors, the charming courtesy of the hosts, impressed everyone most favourably not only those representing the societies invited to send delegates, but also those Orientalists and other savants who went to Hanoi at their own expense and risk.

From the moment of landing at the riverine port of Haiphong, the French officials showed the visitors every attention, and afforded them all possible facilities. On arriving at the railway-station, agents were appointed to guide the guests, and other visitors, to suitable apartments, and assist them generally.

Monsieur Thôme, the able and energetic Commissioner-General of the Exhibition, found time, amidst a multiplicity of claims on his attention, to receive those calling upon him, and personally issued instructions providing for the comfort of those coming from afar to the Exhibition and the Congress. The gentlemen connected with the "École Française d'Extrême Orient" were also very courteous and helpful, as, indeed, were all the Hanoise officials and private citizens.

On the afternoon of December 3 a meeting was convened to arrange all the details of the Congress and to elect the executive, etc. On the forenoon of the 4th the Governor-General presided at the opening function in the *grand salon* of the "Société Philharmonique," a fine building, with smaller halls attached, providing conveniences for simultaneous meetings. The Governor-General and the foreign official delegates presented addresses, and those from Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands, India, Italy, Siam, Japan, etc., spoke appropriately on the occasion. In the afternoon six papers were read.

On the forenoon of the 5th six papers were presented, and in the afternoon seven in the China and Japan section.

On the forenoon of the 6th six papers, and in the afternoon eight papers, were read in the Indo-China section.

On the 7th a special train took the Orientalists and their hosts on an excursion towards the Chinese frontier, where,

detraining, the mausoleum of the royal dynasty of Tonkin was visited ; and at other wayside stations refreshments were provided, including a *déjeuner* in a specially-erected marquee, tastefully decorated with flags and flowers, foliage, etc. Good wine and excellent cuisine in abundance was partaken of, and interspersed with witty speeches, compliments, and brilliant conversation. Other excursions, including a trip to Port de Chine (the Gate of China), followed the last meetings on the 8th, when in the morning eight papers on miscellaneous Oriental subjects were read, and in the afternoon the reports, etc., were presented.

Amongst those who contributed papers were Annamese, Chinese, Hindus, Japanese (including two of the hereditary sacerdotal class), Siamese, Tonkinese, Americans, and Europeans from China, India, Japan, and Europe. The sixty-one papers and lectures covered the entire range of up-to-date Oriental research, etc., and to mention only a few of the savants and their contributions would seem like an invidious distinction where all were so interesting and valuable ; but a few must be mentioned to illustrate the general character of the material presented to the Congress, and through it to the world of Orientalists : Mr. d'Enjoy, on Woman in Annamite Society ; Mr. Parmentier, New Archæological Discoveries in Annam ; Mr. Chavannes, The most Ancient Cartography of China ; Shams-ul-Ulema Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, References to China in Ancient Parsi Literature ; Mr. Lieblein, Egyptian Myths, etc. ; Mr. Pulls, Ancient Cartography of India ; Mr. Macmillan, Marathi Folk-Song ; Mr. Hubert, La prehistorie de l'Indo-Chine ; Dr. P. Cordier (Pondicherry), Recent Discovery of Ancient Indian MSS. on Medicine ; Professor Florenz (of Tokyo), on Japanese Poesy and Romance, etc. ; Dr. Baelz (of Tokyo), on the Races of the Far East, etc. ; Professor Takakusu (Imperial University, Japan), Chinese Version of the Samkhya-karita, and Voyage of Kanshin to Japan from China, A.D. 742-754 ; Captain C. Pfoundes (Kobe, Japan), on the Iconography and Art of Japanese

Buddhism, etc.; Mr. M. G. Brandes, the Antiquities of Java; Mr. Cahen, on Oriental Languages in Russia, Siamese Literature and Ancient Geography of Indo-China, etc.; Mr. Nanjio (M.A. Oxon), Chinese Translations, etc., of the Saddharma-pundarika Sutra, etc.; Mr. Bois, the Useful Plants of China; and many others.

Orientalism is much indebted to the French for the success of this Congress.

NOTE.—We hope to have additional information on this interesting Congress in our next number.—ED.

INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE: PAST AND PRESENT.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL W. B. BEATSON, M.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.C.P.L.,
Late Deputy Surgeon-General, Lahore Division.

PART II.

THERE is no record of an Embassy sent to the Moghul Court by Henry VIII., but there can be no doubt that during his reign English travellers, merchants, and explorers, visited the East Indies under his auspices. Henry VIII. would naturally be anxious to carry on the policy of his father, Henry VII., who, in 1496, granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons to fit out two ships for the exploration of a north-west passage to the Orient. In this attempt they failed, as did Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553.

Many subsequent attempts to discover a north-west passage were made by Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin, but it was not till Drake had circumnavigated the globe in 1577 that the way to India by the rounding of the Cabo Tormentoso was established. The first Englishman who actually visited India in the sixteenth century was Thomas Stephens, in 1579. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

In 1583 three English merchants, Fitch, Newberry, and Leedes went out to India overland as "mercantile adventurers."

Camden* records that in 1591 "*George Riman*, a very stout seaman, and *James Lancaster* made a voyage with three ships to East India. The Cape of Good Hope they happily past; at *Cabo Corriente* a Tempest carried away

* "Annals of the Historie of Elizabeth." London, 1635.

the Admirall, 'which with *Riman* was drowned.' Shortly after the Skye roared with horrible thunder, and in the other two ships foure of the Saylor's dyed having their necks wrung aside with force of lightening and above 90 were stricken blinde, others lamed, some as it were racked, who notwithstanding, every one recovered beyond expectation and undauntedly held on their voyage."

"At the *Isle of Comoro* whilst they took in fresh water, thirtie of them with the Master were slaine by the *Barbarians*.

"At *Zanzibar* they wintered. Towards the spring they took some ships of the *Mahometans* of *Pego* with wooden Anchors, and some others of the Portugals laden with Pepper and Rice.

"Afterward when they were come to *Zeilen** and then to *Nicubar*, an island plentiful of Cinnamon and Diamonds: and now had no more than 33 men alive, and victuals failed them, they set sayle homewards: at the *Isle of St. Helen*, having refreshed themselves a little, they were driven through the ocean to *Trinadada*, where they found no comfort."

"At length they lighted on *Charles Barbotier* a Frenchman who relieved them: with whome they began to deale not with that faithfullnesse which they ought, but such as miserable seamen are wont to use, but, he deluded their cunning."

"Afterwards while *Lancaster* refreshed himselfe with some men in the *Isle of Anglesey*, the ship was carried away by foule weather with seven most distressed men, and returned home very rich, and they that were left behind were no less distressed, but brought home by the courtesy of the Frenchmen, and were the first that taught the Englishmen the manner of trading in East *India*."

"In the meantime, *Thomas Cavendish*, who having sayled round about the world, had returned home with glory in the yeare 1578, began a voyage this yeare with five ships to the straite of *Magellan*, which when he could not pass

* Ceylon (P).

by reason of contrary winds, and being driven back to the coasts of *Brazil*, he there died an untimely death, charging *John Davies* in his last will and testament as if he had treacherously forsaken him."

Notwithstanding these and other misadventures and disasters, Queen Elizabeth, ever anxious for the enrichment of her subjects, the increase of navigation, the honour of the kingdom, and the amplification of commerce, instituted at the close of the sixteenth century a Company or Society of East India Merchants with large privileges.

The merchants sent thither with three ships, James Lancaster, who in 1594 had valiantly won *Fernam-back** in *Brazil*.

Afterwards they sent a fleet thither every year to their profit, and for the honour of the English nation placed *empories* in the Empire of the Great Moghul in *Massolupatan*, *Bantan*, *Patiane*, *Siam*, *Sagad*, *Mecassar* and also in *Japan*, and with happy victories repressed the insolence of the enemy, and Turkish treachery.

This act of Queen Elizabeth, it must be said, was not altogether approved of by her councillors, some of whom feared that it would lead to a mass of silver being exported from England and to a multitude of sailors being every year "consumed." However, on December 31, 1600, the first English East India Company was incorporated by Royal Charter under the title of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. But many rival companies arose, and it was not till 1709 that the London and other companies were amalgamated under the style of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

From the year 1600 to 1612 the Elizabethan Company made annual voyages to the East, the expenses of which were borne by special subscribers who gathered in the whole of the profits. These usually amounted to 100 per cent. After 1612 the voyages were conducted on joint

* Pernambuco.

stock account, and many subscribers who had hitherto failed to pay their shares began to come in.

But the prospects of the Company in India were very poor. A factory had indeed been established at Surat, but all endeavours to obtain trading privileges had failed. Its suppliants at the Court of the Moghul, falsely calling themselves ambassadors from the King, had been "laughed upon." The plague, which had been several times epidemic in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century, made an appearance in the Western coasts of India, to which some cases were undoubtedly brought by infected ships from England. These vessels were no doubt each supplied with medical officers, "Surgeons twoe and a Barber," but they were looked upon as useless. They could not heal themselves, and only headed their fellows in "funeral marches to the grave."

This liberal establishment was sanctioned in the year 1600. In earlier times energetic commanders undertook the medical treatment of their crews. Drake, in his voyage to the South Sea in 1577, "being very careful of his men's health, on coming near the equator, let every one of them blood with his own hands." He probably thought that cooling treatment was necessary for them, as at *St. Jacamo* he had taken a Portugal ship laden with wine, and "thereafter finding a great calm and much thunder and lightning, he got little or nothing forward, and in full five and fifty days saw no land till Brazil presented itself to his crew." The sickness and mortality on board of Queen Elizabeth's ships was very great.

In 1585 an expedition went to the West Indies, commanded by Sir Francis Drake, Admiral of the fleet, and Christopher Carlil, General of the land forces. The fleet consisted of "21 shippes wherein were '2,300 voluntary souldiers and saylers.'" Arriving at the Isle of St. Jago, neere Cape de Verde, they sacked the towne, but found not a whit of gold but of meale, wine, and oile great stores. The 14th day after, they put from that coast and many

which kept watch abroad in the open ayre were taken with a sharp disease called the Calenture, and dyed, which disease is familiar in that unwholesome ayre, to strangers that come thither and lye abroad in the evening."*

"In this voyage were lost 700 men, all of them almost of the Calenture." So great was the misery of the seamen in this voyage that together with Ralph Lane, their captain, they with one voice besought Drake that he would carry them back again to their own country, "which he willingly did."

Camden records that these men which were brought back were "the first I know of which brought into England that Indian plant which they call *Tobacco* and *Nicotia*, and use it against crudities being taught by the Indians. Certainly from that time it began to be in great request, and to be sold at a high rate, whilst very many everywhere, some for wantonness, some for health, sucke in with insatiable greediness the stinking smoke thereof thorow an earthen pipe, and presently snuff it out at their nostrils; insomuch that Tobacco shops are kept in Townes everywhere, no less than Taphouses and Taverns."

"So as the Englishman's bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, may seem to be degenerated into the nature of *Barbarians*, seeing they are delighted, and think they may be cured with the same things which the *Barbarians* use."

"Notwithstanding all failures," Camden says that in 1595 another fleet consisting of "six of the Queens shippes, and twenty other shippes of war were sent into America by Queene Elizabeth." Poor Queen! who had to bear all. "O, hard condition, twin born with greatness, subjected

* They suffered from the form of malaria, now called chill.—W. B. B.

The recognition of chill as a cause of the intermittent and remittent fevers in India must be attributed to Assistant-Surgeon C. F. Oldham (now Brigade Surgeon), Bengal Army (retired), who in 1871 published an interesting and exhaustive work entitled, "What is Malaria?" The book is probably now out of print. Its re-publication for the use of students of tropical medicine is very much to be desired.

to the breath," of lords and councillors. This expedition sailed under the command of Admiral Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake with equal authority at sea, and Sir Thomas Baskerville, General over the land forces.

Differences arose between the three commanders, especially as to the necessity of victualling the ships. Hence came delay, and when the English finally attacked *Porto Rico* they were beaten back by the Spaniards with the loss of many men slain.

Retreating towards *Panama* with 750 men they met with many difficulties, and finally returned to their ships, "weary and pined for lack of victuals," and their companies weakened. "In the meantime, to wit the 28th of January, dyed Sir Francis Drake of the paine of the fluxe and grief for his adverse success."

But a short time before, Hawkins died of grief "for the grudges arisen between him and the commanders, being much lamented by the Saylers." These two great commanders no doubt really died from scurvy and dysentery, the result of scanty putrescent food and the malaria generated in the filthy holds of their ill-found and ill-cared-for vessels. Their fleets certainly had no medical officers worthy of being so called, but a whole college of physicians would have been insufficient to save men who lived daily face-to-face with starvation, disease-infection, and death.

The Charter or Privilege for fifteen years granted by Queen Elizabeth to certain adventurers for the discovery of the trade to the East Indies, nominates a number of councillors, and appoints Thomas Smyth, Alderman of London,* the first Governor of the East India Company;

* "Dictionary of National Biography," Sidney Lee. Afterwards Sir Thomas Smyth, of Westenhanger, in Kent. He was an active member, and for some years governor of the Muscovy Company, treasurer for the Virginian plantations, several other colonial companies, and of the Company of Merchant Discoverers of the North-west Passage.

He was accused of participation in Essex's rash rebellion. He for some time lost the favour of Queen Elizabeth, and was with his wife consigned to the Tower. He succeeded in clearing himself of the charge, but not

but it does not order or suggest the formation of a medical establishment, nor does it contain any mention of John Woodall, who appears to have been afterwards appointed Surgeon-General to the East India Company.

John Woodall was born about the year 1559. In 1589 he went over to France as a military surgeon in the troops sent by Queen Elizabeth to the assistance of Henry IV. under Lord Willoughby. He seems not to have returned at the expiration of his service, for we find him after this period travelling through France, Germany, and Poland, in which countries, he says, for want of better and more beneficial employment, he was forced for his maintenance to practise in the cure of the plague.

He lived for some time at Strade in Germany, among the English merchants residing there; and was employed by some ambassadors sent to that place by Elizabeth as their interpreter in the German language.

On his return to England, after the death of the Queen, he settled in London, and made use of his former experience in a close attendance on the sick during the great plague which raged in the first year of King James's reign.

He became a member of the Surgeon's Company, and about the year 1612 was elected Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and likewise Surgeon-General to the East India Company.

This latter office was a post of great trust and consequence, since he had the charge of appointing surgeons and mates to all the Company's ships, and furnishing their chests with medicines and every other necessary article.

till after the Queen's death did the Company venture to reinstate him as their governor.

In 1621 he insisted on resigning, much to the regret of the Company, and of all interested in maritime discovery or enterprise. He died September 4, 1625.¹

¹ "First Letter-book of the East India Company," Sir G. Birdwood and Foster. London, 1893, p. 10, *note*.

It was on this occasion that he wrote his "Surgeon's Mate."*

It cannot be doubted, from many circumstances, that he was for some considerable time a sea-surgeon, and made one or more voyages to the East Indies in that capacity; but at what period of his life this happened cannot from his works be ascertained. As he mentions but eight years for the term of his travels by land, a period of three or four years will be left to complete the time between his first going to France and his return to England after the death of Queen Elizabeth; and this might probably have been spent in the naval service. We are informed that he was likewise sent into Poland, on some business of importance to the State, in King's James's reign.

In 1626, when the naval forces of the kingdom were augmented, and warlike preparations were being carried on with vigour, the charge of fitting out the chirurgical part of His Majesty's service was committed to the corporation of surgeons, and by them to Woodall. The King, Charles I., on this occasion augmented the pay of the navy surgeons, and gave a bounty, proportioned to the rates of the ships, towards furnishing the medicine-chests.

Woodall at this time wrote his short treatise entitled "Viaticum," being a kind of appendix to his former work for the younger surgeons. It was written in 1626, and printed first in 1628.

From this period we learn scarcely anything concerning him, except that he was for a time master of the Surgeon's Company, and that he reached his sixty-ninth year in 1638, when he collected all his works into one volume, printed in 1639, which, besides his "Surgeon's Mate" and "Viaticum," contained a Treatise on the Plague and another on Gangrene and Sphacelus.

Woodall dedicates his works to the King, the Governor, and Committee of the East India Company, and the master

* "Biographical Memoirs of Medicine." By John Aitkin, Surgeon. London, 1780. (Library of Royal College of Physicians.)

and governors of the Surgeons' Company. In his epistle to the latter, he asserts that for forty years past no English surgeon but himself had published any book of the true practice of surgery for the benefit of young practitioners.

In the preface he gives a short history of medicine, which shows him to have been a man of reading; and he adds a sensible and modest defence of surgeons prescribing diet and medicines to their patients in certain cases, urging that as they are liable to be called upon to serve their country in situations where the whole medical treatment must be entrusted to them, it is unreasonable to deny them, in private practice, the exercise of such knowledge as they are obliged to possess.

Woodall's works show great powers of observation, and indicate his desire to extend the practice of his art within the domain of pure medicine, with a dread of, rather than a fear for, physicians. The treatises on Sphacelus and Gangrene show that he was beginning to understand the nature of pyæmic infection, and that he knew the necessity of removing from the system every kind of impurity.

In the use of drugs he was cautious. He reduced the *mithridate*, a compound much used before his time in the treatment of plague, from seventy-five to nine simples, and, *ad captandum vulgus*, he introduced an *aurum potabile*. He recommended lemon-juice for the treatment of scurvy.

As to certain other remedies, he says: "And this farther is to be added, that such as are strong and sharp are esteemed to be venemous, and there is no venome or poyson to be put to poison, for every such thing as be added to his like, as the general rule saith, maketh that more such."

Woodall was not only an excellent surgeon; he was an able administrative officer. On his appointment he at once drew up regulations for the surgeons under him, and "faithfully discovered the due contents of their chests;" as would be said in the present day, he cut down their indents, and so reduced their profits and the company's expenditure for drugs.

This raised up for him enemies, and in a letter to the East India Company, dated Table Bay, June 20, 1615,* he was accused of having caused "great abuses in the chirurgeons chest—putting divers boxes of one simple, whereas he writeth in their superscriptions to be diverse; drugs rotten, unguents made of kitchen stuff. Boys that have no skill, thrust into places of chirurgeons. He is accounted to be guilty of the death of so many men as perish through his default."

But Woodall did things more terrible than these. In 1620 he became involved in the disputes between Sir Thomas Smyth and Sir Edwin Sandys, both being directors of the East India and other companies.

"Chalte chakke dekh khabir a ro
Do paten ki bich a sabit giya na ko."

The whirling grindstones having seen,
The poet wept and said,
"Who can escape from such a mill
Without a broken head?"

Woodall sided with his patron, Sir Thomas Smyth, and voted for the surrender of the Company's charters to the Crown.

On July 18, 1620, he was suspended from the court of the company pending an inquiry into his "foul aspersion upon Sir Edwin Sandys," but it was not long before he was reinstated, and he held the office of Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital till his death in 1643.

Woodall was a man of foresight. He knew the time must come when a company of merchants, without navy or army, would be unable to govern India—when India herself would welcome the protection of an Imperial Crown.

His long experience in the treatment of plague had made him lose faith in drugs; he knew, as Defoe years afterwards declared, "that the best physic for the plague is to run away from it."

* "Letters received by the East India Company," Foster, vol. ii., p. 184.

Modern science has brought to us the knowledge that when cholera or plague makes its appearance, the most effectual remedy is to move from the stricken spot, and to cleanse and purify infected dwellings.

Woodall was the first and last Surgeon-General to the East India Company. The rank was not revived in India till the Government passed from Company to Crown.

(Concluded.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, March 23, 1903, a paper was read by J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., on "The Western Frontiers of India." The Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., in the chair. The following, among others, were present : Mr. George Leveson-Gower, Mr. Williamson, C.M.G., Mr. Edward Tennant, Sir George Birdwood, K.C.S.I., the Hon. W. Peel, M.P., the Hon. Mrs. Rees, Mr. H. B. Lynch, Mr. Geo. Emmott, M.P., General Sir A. Badcock, K.C.B., Rev. Dr. Bhaba, Prince Ajit Singh of Morvi, General Shaw Stewart, General Dunne, Mr. J. Jardine, K.C., Lady Stonhouse, Colonel Davidson, Colonel Kilgour, Colonel Corbet, Major Pemberton, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mr. H. P. Powell Rees, Mr. and Mrs. Lodowick Rees, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss Webster, Miss Campbell, Mr. H. F. Evans, Mr. J. Deas, I.C.S., Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. H. H. Shephard (late Judge Madras High Court), Mr. and Mrs. Page, Mr. J. McCartney, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. A. R. Bonus, Mr. Garbett, Mr. Ayāz Husain, Mr. J. G. Jeans, Mr. Cook, Mr. Mussenden, Mr. Hansray, Major Arthur E. Kay, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer,

The paper was read.*

The CHAIRMAN said he had been deeply interested in the lecture. He would have to make some remarks which might seem to a certain extent hostile to Mr. Rees' paper, but they might assume his assent on all the general lines of the lecture. The lecturer had discussed a question which, in the last few weeks, had become a Parliamentary question—of the feasibility of a Russian invasion of India—and had said that, with the exception of Prince Oukhtomsky, he did not know of any Russian who had dealt with the subject. General Soboleff, however, had written on the subject in 1887, and one Popowski, an Austrian writer, who wrote in 1890, followed General Soboleff very closely. So that anyone who wished to know Russian views on the subject would find them there ; and there had not since then been any great change in the conditions of the problem. The changes which had taken place had been anticipated by those writers. Mr. Rees had thought that the Russian writers who assumed the practicability of an army crossing the Hindu Kush went too far ; and then Mr. Rees himself stated what might be called the present conditions of the problem. He (the Chairman) quite adhered to the view of Mr. Rees, and so did Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, from whom a telegram, expressing his regret at not being able to be present, had just been received. He quite agreed that from the present Russian frontier no one of any authority had ever pronounced the invasion of India a practicable military operation. The amount of transport required for crossing Afghanistan by an army sufficiently large to reach India in a condition

* See p. 225.

to encounter our army in India was prohibitive of invasion in any one campaign. That did not conclude the question as to what would happen if a partition of Afghanistan were to take place. If suggestions which at various times had been made that we should have a common frontier with Russia were carried into effect, they would have to face at once what would virtually be, not a first, but a second campaign, and the conditions of the problem would be wholly different. Mr. Rees had criticised certain proceedings which had been taken on behalf of India in modern times. For instance, he attacked the expenditure at Chitral, and congratulated Lord Curzon on having reduced it. He (the Chairman) was one of those who took the middle view about Chitral, which had been Lord Curzon's view, and which had been carried into effect. Although cavalry and guns could not come over, nor could much transport, still, small bodies of troops with mule transport could pass over and be collected in sufficient numbers to overcome anything like native resistance; so that there was some necessity for keeping our eyes open in that neighbourhood, although probably it was a mistake to undertake operations upon so large a scale. As against what Mr. Rees called the forward policy, he (the lecturer) had offered a Persian policy, which deserved investigation. Incidentally in doing so, he had doubted the applicability of what was called the Sandeman system to the tribes of Northern Afghanistan. As a great advocate of the Sandeman system, and admirer of Sandeman himself, he (the Chairman) could not but feel that the principle which had been adopted was, in fact, the Sandeman system. Tribes, of course, varied, but the Sandeman system had not led to any large expenditure in Beloochistan. Beloochistan was virtually a portion of India, but under the working of the Sandeman system the advance in that direction had been accomplished at no great cost, apart from what was spent on fortifications at Quetta, and in the construction of the Quetta Railways. It was marvellous what an amount of work had been accomplished virtually at no cost at all. The main principle of the Sandeman system was working through, and with, the tribes, by local militia rather than by regular troops. There was undoubtedly a danger with regard to the new province caused by the extraordinarily different nature of different portions of the province itself. For instance, a portion of the low country had always been under a settled administration, and that was lumped together with some of the wildest country in the world, inhabited by some of the wildest tribes. There was a risk that there would be an attempt towards ultimate uniformity throughout the province, which he thought would be disastrous. He was one of those who regretted the tendency towards uniformity throughout India. He had always felt that in dealing with a country of such extraordinary diversity the system of government ought to be extraordinarily diverse. Of course, it was easier to stereotype a system, but the dangers were immense. As contrasted with this policy, Mr. Rees had put forward a Persian policy and a naval policy. Before recommending expenditure upon such a policy, it was desirable to see exactly what was meant. Mr. Rees was of opinion that there would be enormous danger to India if any foreign power—to put it plainly, Russia

—were to be in command of the Persian Gulf. What was meant by “in command of the Persian Gulf”? If they could imagine a naval Power seated in the Persian Gulf, with a fortified establishment, with docks, and with a fleet present there—such as, for instance, the Russian Pacific Squadron—it was obvious that we should have greatly to increase our naval squadron in those seas. That would involve an increase of naval expenditure. He agreed with Mr. Rees that what had been announced as the settled policy of the Government must be maintained—that is, that we should not allow (and we were in an international position to forbid) any naval Power to establish itself upon the Persian Gulf. He did not, however, agree with Mr. Rees’ suggestion that money spent, for example, at Quetta on fortifications might better have been spent upon batteries, and warships, and repairing docks on the coast. The need for such expenditure, as compared with other more necessary expenditure, had not arisen. The places where, in modern warfare, great docks were needed for the repair of ironclad ships were the places where those ships had to be kept to fight, and, up to the present time, they had not had to keep them in Indian waters. In the Far East they had the use of their establishments at Hongkong, and the use of the Japanese establishments under the Treaty. They might have to fight there, and so there they had the docks. They had docks for their cruisers in Ceylon. So that he suggested that up to the present time the necessity had not arisen for the expenditure of money upon docks at Madras, or establishments on the Persian Gulf. Then came, probably, the most interesting question they had to consider—namely, in what direction the activities of Russia are most likely to be exhibited in the next few years. Mr. Rees had compared their possible activity in the direction of India as in the nature of a feint rather than of an attack. He had hinted at Manchuria being, even more than Persia, the present sphere of the activity of Russia; he had suggested, in his final words, that the drain of these great experiments might be too great for Russia, and that she might break down in pursuing her present policy. He (the Chairman) could remember Russia very well some thirty years ago, and had travelled throughout the length and the breadth of the Russian Empire. In those days it used to be asserted that Russia was bankrupt, and could not hold on, but since that time she had trebled or quadrupled her army, created her gigantic fleet, and undertaken her marvellous railroad construction; she was racing down through Manchuria, and racing also with her railways straight for Peking. They would see a little place on the map called Kalgan. At the present moment, while public attention was directed to the Manchurian Railway to Port Arthur, the more important railway, strategically and politically speaking, was the direct line from the Siberian Railway to Kalgan. He did not himself believe that the extraordinary expansion of Russia in the Far East and in Persia was likely to be put a stop to by any failure of the Russian people to follow out their destinies to the end. The public in this country must not count upon any check in the activities of Russia from her internal position. They must, of course, face the fact that the development of Russia was, to some extent, an anti-British development; and undoubtedly in Persia, and in Manchuria, and in

Central Asia, measures of exclusion had been specially directed against the English. At the present time difficulties were thrown in the way of the British and the Japanese which were not thrown in the way of Americans, or Germans, or other people. They must, therefore, look upon this development as likely to be hostile to their trade. Mr. Rees had suggested that they should try in Persia to counteract the development of Russia not only by excluding her from the coast, but also by operations in the interior—for example, in improving the communications. He doubted whether Parliament would entertain the expenditure of British money behind the coast of Persia. They had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Lynch present, who, probably, knew more about the internal communications of Persia than any other man, and they would hear what he would tell them. He had now, he thought, dealt with all the larger points, but there were one or two subsidiary points as to which he would like to say one word. He wholly went with Mr. Rees in the view that we did not do enough in the way of informing ourselves nationally as to the movements of other persons. There was an article in the *Times* on the position of the army, which spoke of how little had been done to promote intercommunication between the Japanese army and navy and our own. That was startling, because it was different from what would have been done by any other Power. A most interesting book had been published within the last few days called "Greater Russia," in which the author had pointed out with perfect truth that every Power except England was represented in Manchuria by agents, who were able to help forward the commercial operations of their own people. We were slow to move in these matters. Our Foreign Office was, under the dominion of the Treasury, slow to move, not only in the matter of increased expenditure, but also in rapid transfer from what had become useless to something more useful. Again, too often when we had consulates we put into them—or, might he say, "jobbed" into them?—persons who were not fit for the offices to which they were sent, and did not know the particular foreign languages that they ought to know, and were consequently useless. He thought he had now dealt with the points which seemed worthy of attention. He cordially agreed in the general lines of the rest of the paper, and congratulated Mr. Rees upon the paper which had been read.

MR. H. B. LYNCH thought they had listened to a most interesting speech giving the substance of a paper, the only fault to be found with which was that it embraced too wide a field. It was directed to two almost distinct subjects: the consideration of the new frontier province created by Lord Curzon, and the more important question of what he might call the outside frontier policy of the Government of India. He spoke not as one who was concerned with India, which he was content to leave to the care of his friend Lord Curzon, but as one interested in the countries west of India, and who had travelled widely in them. The object of his travels in those countries had been to ascertain whether they were of great or of little importance to this country. With regard to the question of the extra-territorial frontiers of India, Mr. Rees had made a number of propositions, but he thought in the limited time at his disposal he had better con-

fine himself to one, and that was that we should endeavour to prevent at all cost the establishment of a European Power on the littoral of the Persian Gulf, and that we should spare no effort to maintain and develop our ascendancy in that quarter and the adjacent hinterland. He concurred with the lecturer, who had said that the future of the Persian Gulf was irrevocably bound up with the fortunes of India, and would congratulate him on having been among the first to recognise that the frontier policy of India must be based on very much wider conceptions than had hitherto prevailed. The lecturer had given them three frontiers: the North-West, the Belooch, and the Persian Gulf. He (Mr. Lynch) would link up the Belooch and the Persian Gulf frontiers and make them indissolubly connected. It seemed to him of no use to say that they should maintain themselves on the Persian Gulf, and at the same time disregard the countries that lay immediately behind. If they lined the Persian Gulf with ports, and the hinterland was in the possession of Russia, he thought they would have very short shrift given to them by those who directed the Russian policy. He thought the lecturer had been a little misunderstood by the Chairman in his remarks regarding expenditure on the North-West Frontier. He imagined the real meaning of the lecturer to be, that instead of spending large sums on the North-West Frontier of India, the firm of John Bull and Co. should take stock of the circumstances, and see whether it would not be more valuable—or, at all events, less costly—to develop in directions more susceptible of a Russian advance. He himself was of the opinion of Lord Curzon, that the high ground between the two great ranges stretching across Persia and Asia Minor should be the boundary between the two Empires of Russia and Britain, and that the latter should spread her influence inland from the blue water by a process of peaceful penetration.

The CHAIRMAN observed that it was a mistake to suppose that much money had been spent on fortifications on the North-West Frontier of India.

MR. LYNCH thought the Persian Gulf back-country a question which was a very good subject of discussion. With regard to the question how far he would go in the policy of controlling the hinterland, he would call their attention to the map. They would see there two great ranges, one on the north, the other on the south. If they took Persia they had the range on the north represented by portions of Afghanistan, and on the south the mountainous portions of Beloochistan. Between the two ranges they had a great table-land, and it was characteristic of the country that in the centre, separated by the two ranges, they had on the table-land a Salt Desert. A long examination had led him to this conviction: that the true frontier between Russian influence and British influence in Persia was that great Salt Desert. No armies could march across it. It was the only neutral ground in that part of the world not penetrable by armies under any conditions. If they accepted that proposition the whole of the mountainous fertile ground on the north fell naturally to Russia, and the southern portion to us, and that was already exclusively occupied by our commerce. He maintained that the holding of the waters of the Persian Gulf and the

hinterland, so far as the Salt Desert, was a perfectly practicable arrangement which should be adopted by this country. As they knew, when Russia ran down from the north we always had complaints, and a rousing of public opinion in this country. He remembered when she came to Merv they all suffered from what people called "Mervousness." The same thing would happen with regard to the Persian Gulf question. He did not believe they could ever consent to the principle that Russia, or any other European Power, should control the Persian Gulf and the hinterland. On that question he thought the back of this country was placed against the wall, and the sooner the question was faced the better it would be for European peace. It might be objected that he was going in for a forward and costly policy. That was by no means the case. They had been told that Beloochistan was administered practically without any expense to this country. He did not contemplate that they should even think of annexing districts contiguous belonging to Persia; but if Russia ever came on the northern provinces of Persia, they would have to face the question of an occupation of those provinces, and he did not believe the occupation would cost more than the occupation of Beloochistan. They must further consider that the hinterland and the Persian Gulf was at the present day bringing in considerable sums to this country, and that every year, in consequence of our vacillating and withdrawing policy, those sums were lost to the country. He did not believe in a statistical policy. He did not believe they could oppose the dynamical policy of Russia through Persia by any standing upon the *status quo*. As Russia came down from the north, so they must go up from the south. He submitted that to the dynamical policy of Russia they should oppose, not a Jingo policy, but a policy based on that of Russia, of peaceful penetration into the interior. Such a policy, he maintained, would not only increase commerce, but in the end would be far less costly than any alternative that could be proposed. (Applause.)

MR. OSWALD desired to ask Mr. Lynch what he thought would happen as to the hinterland at the head of the Gulf when Russia possibly wished to go there from Armenia.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lynch has occupied more than his allotted time, but I did not keep him to it, because his remarks were of extraordinary interest. He has finished his speech, and I must not ask him to speak again.

MR. EMMOTT thought that the effect of the new tariff on cotton goods, our chief export to Persia, had been a little bit exaggerated. At the same time they must not hide from themselves the fact that the tariff as a whole was designed against British interests; and whatever might be said about cotton goods, there was no question as to the effect of the enormous increase of 95 per cent. on the tariff on tea from India. The question how far they should assist railways in the future was of very great interest. It appeared to him they were rapidly reaching into a position in which they ought to consider the advisability of assisting railways in certain localities, where their construction was of great advantage to British trade.

MR. MARTIN WOOD said the lecturer had gone a great deal beyond the

subject of the Western Frontiers of India. What were those Western Frontiers? The true frontier was the line they took from the Sikhs. Beyond that it was entirely foreign territory.

MAJOR PEMBERTON thought the effect of the discussion would be educational throughout the country, and Mr. Rees would be doing a public service if he could see his way to deliver this lecture in other places in the United Kingdom. As the British people would have to pay the cost, they would claim through their representatives in the House of Commons a voice in the line of policy to be adopted. When the democracy was educated in this matter the British Cabinet could be trusted to bring forward adequate and proper measures, and the House of Commons trusted to vote the necessary supplies; but we must bear in mind that until the general public was aroused to a sense of the momentous issues involved, and possessed some acquaintance with the subject, the Government would not have behind it a sufficient body of informed public opinion to enable it to grapple with this grave question in an adequate manner. Mr. Lynch's remarks had been most interesting, and he was able to agree with a great deal of what he had said, though he feared the words "Too late" must almost be the verdict on the policy outlined by him. A few years ago, as was well known, we had thrown away a great and unique opportunity of strengthening our position at Teheran, and it was doubtful whether the opportunity had not gone for ever. Should the speaker, however, be considered too pessimistic in thinking the die already cast, he would be the first to welcome a thorough discussion of the line of policy advocated so ably by Mr. Lynch. Such a discussion would clear the air, and enable the country to come to a decision after weighing the cost. Mr. Lynch, in his opinion, had made somewhat light of the cost of improving the existing means of access from the Persian Ports into the interior of the country. Major Pemberton feared that the development of the hinterland, by the construction of roads and railways, would prove a costly affair. He mentioned the expense because money entered largely into the question of policy, especially in a democratic community like ours; that was a fact that had to be faced, and it would be no use ignoring it, but at the same time let the policy advocated be judged on its merits and not condemned solely because of its assumed costliness. Leaving Persia, however, for the moment, and reverting to the North-West Frontier of India, Major Pemberton thought there was too great a tendency to look at the problem of the defence of India as it presents itself in its main features at the present day; in consequence, the conclusion come to by many was that the invasion of India by Russia was a practical impossibility—a chimera, in fact! He submitted, however, that the proper way to deal with the question was to forecast the future, and to consider the condition of things as it is likely to be some fifteen or twenty years hence, when lines of railways traversing Afghanistan will probably either have been made or will be in course of construction. Then matters would assuredly wear a different aspect, and it was to deal with that state of things that we as a nation should now commence our preparations. Surely no sane man should comfort himself with the thought that armies could not march

across salt deserts, when everybody knew that such could be spanned by lines of railway. Russia had shown her ability to build railways through the most difficult country, and the veriest sceptic would not doubt her power to push her railways into Afghanistan when the political situation should favour her doing so. Major Pemberton firmly believed that Russia would in the course of the present century make an attempt to cause us trouble in India, and it rested with us to now determine by our action or inaction what measure of success should meet such aggression on her part. Personally, he spoke with no other feeling than one of amity towards Russia, a country he knew well. In the course of his travels throughout the Russian Empire he had come in contact with Russians of all classes, and had invariably received the greatest possible kindness, and been struck by the liking shown for individual Englishmen.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD had much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Rees. The lecture had been admirable in itself, and not less so for the weighty discussion it had called forth. Most suggestive, he thought, was the question casually put by Dr. Oswald to Mr. Lynch as to what he would say if Russia got into the hinterland of Persia from Armenia. He thought that a vital question. But for the conquest of the Caucasus, followed by the cession of Batoum to Russia, the Russians would never have found it possible to approach India from beyond the Caspian. Dr. Oswald's question suggested the answer that the vulnerable points of Russia were in the Black Sea and the Baltic. Those were the points where we must be prepared to attack. He entirely agreed with what fell from the Chairman on the subject of the fortification of the North-West Frontier. It seemed to him that the money spent on the fortifications of the North-West Frontier had in no sense been misspent. It had made Russia realize the difficulties of the approach to India from that direction, and practically India was now impregnable in that direction. We owed this to Lord Roberts. He had been especially interested in the point Mr. Rees had sought to make as to the futility of Alexander's invasion of India. Alexander, however, never had any idea of conquering India. He undertook the expedition partly for glory and partly for scientific research; and altogether Alexander had found in it a most enjoyable Jameson's Raid on an extended scale. He did not like entertaining suspicions of any foreign country; but he happened to be the editor of the English translation of Oukhtomsky's travels, and he was amazed at the audacity, the brazen effrontery, with which he discussed the question of the Russian conquest of India. After such a revelation it was impossible to ignore what were the hopes, aspirations, and intentions of the Russian statesmen in the immediate entourage and close intimacy of the Czar. He was deeply grateful to Mr. Rees for his paper, and, he must add, to Sir Charles Dilke also for his masterful exposition of the problem of our present and future relations with Russia with reference to the defence of the North-West Frontier of India.

The CHAIRMAN, in seconding the vote of thanks, observed that the true strategical doctrine was that you could only defend your possessions against attack by operations in all parts of the world; and, curiously enough,

although Sir George Birdwood was a man of peace, it had been left to him to take them into those larger considerations. He differed from Sir George Birdwood with regard to the suggestion that Russia was vulnerable in the Caucasus. That was a thing of the past. But there was this fact which would keep them lying awake—that Russia, while she was a few years ago almost invulnerable to our arms in the event of war, had become more vulnerable than she was—not in the immediate neighbourhood of India, but in that part of the world to which Russian energy was at present principally directed. He doubted whether Mr. Lynch would see so much of Russian energy in Persia in the next few years as he had anticipated. His own belief was that the energy which she displayed in the direction of Peking pointed to the true objective of Russia. Her operations in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Northern China made her more vulnerable than she had hitherto been, which went to show that when people took on themselves enormous responsibility they could not do so without to some extent increasing their vulnerability.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

MR. REES, in reply, said he was aware of the existence of the book of Popowski to which Sir Charles referred, and had read it, but did not know that it had been translated into English; and he had spoken of Oukhtomsky's book as being the only work translated into English relating to the Russian invasion of which he knew. He did not think at that late hour it would be agreeable to the company that he should deal with all the points which had been raised. He had not meant to imply that he felt that the advanced portions of the new North-Western Province would suffer by being brought down to the level of the hill portions, but he did think it would be better if the administration were a little less scientific in certain quarters, and in all cases suited to the particular people concerned. When he had referred to Russia in the Gulf he meant to say that he thought their presence in the Gulf at all would be extremely inconvenient, and would very much increase our difficulties. He was aware that at present Russia, happily, was not in a position to command the Persian Gulf. He did not mean to suggest that all the money spent on the frontier ought to have been put into ships for the Indian Seas, but he thought more money had been spent than was necessary in fortifying portions of a naturally almost impregnable frontier. He entirely concurred with Sir Charles Dilke in what he had said in regard to the manner in which our agents should specially inform themselves of the subjects with which they had to deal, and he hoped that in the future in civil employ, as in the army, it would be looked upon as an additional advantage that an officer should take some pains to qualify himself for the business to which he had to devote himself by acquirements over and above the officially required minimum. Mr. Lynch's speech had been one of extreme interest. It was, however, very much to the point to remember what Major Pemberton had said: that although armies cannot march across salt deserts, when you had a line of rail across those deserts it was not so difficult to transport troops. Indeed, the salt Kavar would be no obstacle in such a case. Referring to Mr. Lynch's theory of what he and Major Pemberton had called "peaceful penetration,"

and to General Dunne's question what had become of the Shah, he thought that potentate, between "painless identification" in the north and "peaceful penetration" on the south, was likely to experience the fate of the substance which intervened between the upper and the nether millstone. Indeed, indebtedness of the King of kings to Russia had made him already as extinct a volcano as Demavend, whose cold, snowy cone he saw daily from his palace windows. It must surely often suggest to him the thought of the Amir in his "Soliloquy," "Shall I be the last King of kings?" Sir Charles Dilke had truly said that China was the present immediate objective. That had been clearly stated in the work of Prince Oukhtomsky, who had laid bare the Russian policy with the most extraordinary frankness. Mr. Emmott had referred to a subject of the greatest importance—namely, the tariff which had just been imposed by Russia upon Persia, to which he had referred in his paper, but not in his speech. It was a most unfriendly tariff. It had been stated that our Minister had orders to endeavour to arrange that no alteration should be made in future in tariff without the consent of England, but no alterations would be wanted by Russia, for our trade had already been shut out between India and Eastern Persia. In his paper he had suggested that we should retaliate with our tariff. He gathered there was no wide difference of opinion between the chairman and himself, or between them and the audience. He was very fortunate in his chairman and his audience, and thought it evident that the question with which he had endeavoured to deal in a speech lasting under an hour was one of pressing importance, as it clearly was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

INDIA AND ITS PROBLEMS.*

MR. LILLY, whose personal knowledge of Madras was acquired during a residence of ten years in various subordinate capacities, and terminated more than thirty years ago, has written a very fascinating, and, it may well be, very useful sort of bird's-eye view (as he calls it) of India; though as a contribution towards a solution of its more serious problems, it does not even profess to be of much service to the anxious inquirer. He is hampered, of course, by the limits he has set himself, and naturally finds it difficult, if not impossible, to discuss the whole of India and its administration in 300 short pages. The wonder is that he has succeeded in compressing so much really useful information into so slight a volume. That his matter is skilfully selected and admirably put together is no more than we should expect from his literary reputation, but it is somewhat disturbing to one who thinks the Salt Tax perhaps the greatest real grievance imposed on the people by a generally benevolent Government to find it so lightly dismissed; and rather surprising, too, that the State of Travancore which, at any rate in the days of Mr. Lilly, was the model State of Madras (if not of India), is not even mentioned throughout the work. In a second edition the "bird's-eye view" might well be a little more extensive. His sketch of the history, considering its exceeding brevity, is extremely well done and extremely picturesque, though the pictures are but "pencil sketches." It is easy to criticise such a work, but the writer who has the industry and the ability to compile it is much to be envied, and

* "India and its Problems," by William Samuel Lilly, Barrister-at-Law, formerly of the Indian Civil Service. Sands and Co., London.

certainly deserves well of his country, however one may disagree with some of his conclusions. The book is adorned with a very clear and most useful map, which includes, what is so often wanting in maps of India, the enormous plateau of Thibet and the sources of so many mighty rivers. My only regret is that it was not continued far enough west to include the whole of Afghanistan and the Russian frontier, and far enough east to show how India is affected by the close proximity of the French on that side. There is also a useful, but by no means perfect index—the word “salt,” for instance, though just alluded to in the text, finding no place in it.

Having said so much in praise of the book of an old comrade, I will now devote the remaining space at my disposal to finding as much fault as I can, but only in the most friendly spirit. It must be admitted at once that Mr. Lilly scarcely touches the fringe of the many perplexing problems that beset the Indian administrator at every turn. He claims, indeed, to discuss “a few of the most important of them,” but confines himself almost entirely to famine and the consequent poverty of the people, and even on famine he is rather gruesome than profound. What he and most of the official supporters of the British Rāj call “developing the resources of the country,” the National Congress and other reformers call “exploiting it for the benefit of Great Britain.” Mr. Lilly has no patience with the National Congress-wallahs, but he seems to share their doubts as to there being any advantage to the agricultural population in the undoubted development of trade; and his account of the possible remedies for famine is not very encouraging. He may, perhaps, be right in thinking that artificial irrigation, especially from wells, is the most practicable means we have at hand for improving the condition of the people. He is surprisingly bold in denouncing free trade, and this part of his work will be welcomed by every Indian patriot. The land-tax has been discussed *ad nauseam* of late, and I

am not disposed to add anything here to what I have said already in the pages of this *Review* and elsewhere; but I am inclined to agree with Mr. Lilly that the rigid inflexibility of the land-tax is a greater evil than its weight, though it is certainly too heavy also in too many cases. He avoids the currency question and the problem of the "tribute" so-called, as "too large to be discussed," and what he does say about the currency question is very inadequate. To say that "the exchange value of the rupee has now sunk to sixteenpence" is positively misleading. Nor does he give us any assistance in forming an opinion as to the share which Great Britain ought to contribute towards the excessive military expenditure of the Indian Empire. He evidently agrees with Sir Henry Brackenbury that England ought to pay more than she does, but how is the exact amount to be settled? Is there any human being capable of making an approximately fair apportionment?

Mr. Lilly is, I think, unfairly severe on the Indian municipalities, and is, perhaps constitutionally, or by early training, opposed to freedom of thought or even to free institutions. In point of fact, neither the local bodies nor his *bête noir*, the National Congresses, are so inefficient or so ridiculous as he thinks. The best of them are not nearly so efficient as the best municipal councils in England; the worst are not much worse than some of our own local bodies: and, in spite of much confident assertion to the contrary, I am quite sure they are largely representative of native public opinion, and, with sympathetic guidance, can be made most useful to the State. Mr. Lilly seems to have overlooked Sir R. Garth's defence of the Congress. No one discussing the subject at all can afford to ignore that striking testimony, and the National Congress is one of "the problems of India" which deserves more generous consideration than Mr. Lilly has given it. Even the *Daily Graphic* shows a more reasonable appreciation of it, and certainly most moderate men would agree

that "the most remarkable feature about these Congresses has been *the general moderation of their tone* and the *practical character* of their proposals."

This communication is already far too long, but I should like to make a few remarks on one more of the most serious "problems of India"—I mean the competitive examination for entrance into the service of that Government. Everyone must agree that any examination is a very inadequate test even of real knowledge and mental qualities, let alone the qualities needed in a ruler of men; but we have already "thrown open the door" to the Service, and it is probably impossible to close it again, or even to modify the examination itself. And yet it is obvious that under the existing system it is quite possible (however improbable) that the whole of the appointments in any year *might* be carried off by native candidates; and as it will evidently be necessary for some time to come to fill the upper ranks of the Service mainly with Europeans, I cannot help thinking it is high time to limit the number of appointments open to natives, but at the same time to make it easier for them to compete by some such scheme as I ventured to suggest in a paper read before the East India Association in February last.*

As to the examination itself, I am not sure that some system of nomination followed by competition, as in appointments to the navy, would not be more satisfactory than that now in force; but further radical reform is also absolutely necessary in the character of the examination. The best authorities are agreed that to allow a candidate to take up an unlimited number of subjects is to put a premium on "cram," and that it is positively injurious to the candidates both mentally and physically. What is wanted is an examination in a strictly limited number of those subjects in which candidates may fairly be expected to have attained some proficiency in the ordinary routine

* See this *Review*, April, 1902, pp. 280-286, "The Indian Civil Service, and the Further Admission of Natives of India."

of education. We do not in India want prodigies of learning: we want ordinary men of business, with sound minds in sound bodies, and the best way to get them is to examine them in a reasonable number of subjects only, English composition (and that alone) being of course compulsory. A mathematician would then take, say, natural science, and one or two modern languages to balance the Latin and Greek (with their histories) of the classical man (who seems just now to have, perhaps, a somewhat unfair advantage—at any rate, as compared with the native of India). Six, or at most eight, subjects would be ample to test any boy's powers and capacities, and the examination would be just as fair to all except those unnatural prodigies who can assimilate enormous masses of mental food by means of a capacious memory and a habit of working night and day, which is certainly destructive to health and very often to the mind also. As Mr. Banerjea well said: "It is the multiplicity of books and the multiplicity of subjects which produce a bewildering confusion, and tempt the student to rely upon his memory rather than upon his understanding."

When Mr. Lilly comes to read Mr. Banerjea's address, he must feel, I think (as I do of mine), that his knowledge of modern India is somewhat out of date. Sir Thomas Munro, whom he quotes with approval, was wiser in his generation, and saw the absurdity of attempting to exclude the educated people of a country from a full share in its own government. The life of Sir A. Sashiah Shastri shows the absurdity still more clearly—very few Englishmen indeed have been more richly endowed with the highest capacity for government.

There is much unpalatable truth in Mr. Lilly's description of the defects of our rule, though I think he exaggerates our tendency to Anglicize everything; and in my opinion the natives would be fairly content (however little enthusiastic) if they could be sure of getting impartial justice without too much red tape. I wish I was quite clear that

our officials were invariably determined to give redress in every case where manifest injustice has been done, as it certainly was in a recent notorious Madras case. Some of the cases in which Indians have been excluded from so-called open competitive examinations are certainly calculated to make one blush for shame at the mean quibbling we have been driven to in order to get out of engagements our predecessors may seem to have entered into without sufficiently considering the effect of their arrangements. Surely it would be better to say, once for all, every year, how many of the higher appointments are really open to natives, and then try our best to make it easy for them to compete—only *not* by "simultaneous examinations." Let us, at any rate, be honest.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

March, 1903.

"STUDIA SINAITICA," NO. XI.

SIR,

I have to thank you for a very kind and appreciative review of my book—No. XI, "*Studia Sinaitica*" (see January number, pp. 195-197). An interesting point in it is the resemblance which you have noticed between the composition of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and *Transitus Mariae* and that of the Corân, with their mixture of the canonical and the apocryphal.

But I trust that you will allow me to point out a mistake into which you have fallen—possibly through a lack of clearness in my own description of the little leaf, fol. 11, whose underscript contains a text in ancient Greek letters from the Septuagint. This leaf is not paper, as you suppose, but very fine vellum. A paper leaf has been pasted on to it as its conjugate. This leaf, fol. 12, is the only paper and non-palimpsest leaf in the whole volume. The juxtaposition of the two shows that the ninth or tenth century scribe was hard-up for writing material.

If the Septuagint leaf, fol. 11, had been paper, would it not have been unique? Is there any extant specimen of a paper palimpsest?

On page xxi of the Introduction, I ought to have placed my meaning beyond a doubt by saying, "one little *vellum* leaf, fol. 11." But just afterwards I say that "it is in a sense isolated, for its *conjugate*, fol. 12, is the only paper leaf in the whole volume." I need scarcely add that I regret the inadvertence.

Yours faithfully,

AGNES SMITH LEWIS.

Castle-brae, Cambridge,

February 14, 1903.

THE ORIENTALISTS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE
PACIFIC HEMISPHERE.

SIR,

The Orientalists' International Union for the furtherance of *bonâ fide* research, and the encouragement of practical studies of Orientalists, has become, I rejoice to say, a fact, and promises to become a success, as the adhesion forms have already been signed and sent in to the organizer—although so recently issued to a limited number—by the presidents and professors of the principal universities and colleges, by noted Orientalists and other savants and specialists, by diplomatists, and other distinguished personages of the civilized world—Europe, India, and the extreme Orient, Australasia, and the islands, as well as the dual American continent.

Representatives of the principal nationalities and races, and persons of note connected with the chief religions of the world, as well as those who ignore all religions, and are scientists only, have joined this movement.

That the Orientalists' International Union supplies a want is proved by the communications already received from a number of scientific societies, etc., anthropological, ethnographical, and other kindred institutions, as well as Asiatic and Oriental Societies, etc.

The connection between the Asiatic and the North American continents is illustrated by the fact that Asiatics have drifted across the North Pacific in quite recent times, and since the American flag was hoisted in California Japanese have been cast ashore on the coast. One of the survivors who returned to his native land after the Commodore Perry Treaties lived, until a couple of years ago, in constant communication with foreigners.

Chinese, Japanese, and other far Eastern Asiatic traditions of trans-Pacific voyages can no longer be deemed mere romance in the face of what is known.

* The inscriptions on the remains in Central America, and elsewhere on the dual continent, still await deciphering, and there can be no question that the problems and secrets of the former civilizations on the American continent will only be solved by Oriental experts, especially those who devote themselves to the archaic writing, etc., of the coast races and islanders of the extreme Orient, from the Malacca peninsula to the far north, and the outlying islands, which, too, have received immigration and civilization, etc., from the adjacent continent.

C. J. W. PFUNDEN.

Kita no Machi, Kobe, Japan.

THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY, CALCUTTA.

We are pleased to observe that, through the efforts of Lord Curzon, an Imperial Library has been established in the Metcalfe Hall, Calcutta. From the amalgamation of other libraries and works from England the library at present consists of nearly 100,000 volumes. There are also public and private reading-rooms. It will be a valuable repository of works of reference, a working place for students bent on obtaining informa-

tion on the history of India, on Oriental research, and many other important subjects connected with India and Eastern countries.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

The British Central Africa Company (Limited) announces the issue of £400,000 5 per cent. first charge debentures at 96. The prospectus states that His Majesty's Government have granted to the Shiré Highlands Railway, Nyassaland (Limited), a concession for the construction and working of a railway, about 200 miles in length, connecting the Shiré River with Lake Nyassa. The line will start from Chiromo, on the lower Shiré River, and run via Zoa and the Cholo plateau to Blantyre, the present trade centre, a distance of about eighty-four miles, and thereafter northwards from Blantyre to a point completing the connection with Lake Nyassa. This railway, with the navigation on the lake and river, will thus effect through communication from the coast to the head of Lake Nyassa, a distance of about 850 miles into the heart of Central Africa. The Government agree to make a free grant to the railway company of 3,200 acres of land for each mile of line constructed from Chiromo to Blantyre, or approximately a total of 268,800 acres, subject to the rights reserved to the Government and to natives. The acreage to be given when construction is continued beyond Blantyre is to be determined hereafter.

THE ORIENTALISTS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE PACIFIC HEMISPHERE.

We rejoice to see that such an organization has been established in Japan. Its object is the promotion of scientific research, the encouragement of systematic studies, the collation of material, the dissemination of information, etc., interesting to specialists and others; initiating and assisting in organizing congresses, etc., and otherwise arousing and maintaining public interest and support of investigation, publication, and study of the religious and other cults, the ethnology, geography, political and physical geography, geology, botany, zoology, philology, literature, history, arts, customs, folk-lore, and other kindred subjects connected with the Asiatic, American, and other coasts, the adjacent countries and Islands, and their inhabitants past and present, of the Pacific hemisphere. Further information may be obtained by communications addressed to the Orientalists' International Union, etc., care of Captain Pfoundes, Kobe, Japan.

AN EPITAPH IN THE OLD CHURCH AT EASTBOURNE, SUSSEX, ENGLAND.

A friend has sent us the following interesting epitaph: "Sacred to the memory of Henry Lushington, eldest son of Henry Lushington, Vicar of this parish, and Mary his wife, whose singular merits and as singular sufferings cannot fail of endearing him to the latest posterity. At the age of sixteen, in the year 1754, he embarked for Bengal in the Indian Com-

pany, and by attaining a perfect knowledge of the Persian language made himself essentially useful.

"It is difficult to determine whether he excelled more in civil or in military capacity. His ability in both recommended him to the notice and esteem of Lord Clive, whom, with equal credit to himself and satisfaction to his patron, he served in the different characters of secretary, interpreter, and commissary.

"In the year 1756, by a melancholy revolution, he was with others to the amount of 446 forced into a dungeon at Calcutta, so small that 23 only escaped suffocation.

"He was one of the survivors, but reserved for greater misery, for, by a subsequent revolution in the year 1763, he was with two hundred more taken prisoner at Patna, and, after a tedious confinement, being singled out with John Ellis and William Hayes, Esq., was, by the order of the Nabob Coosin Ally Kawn, and under the direction of one Someroo, an Apostate European, deliberately and inhumanely murdered. But while the sepoys were performing their savage office on the first mentioned gentleman, fired with a generous indignation at the distress of his friend, he rushed upon his assassins unarmed, and seizing one of their scimitars killed 3 of them and wounded two others, till at length, oppressed with numbers, he greatly fell.

"His private character was perfectly consistent with his public character. The amiable sweetness of his disposition attached men of the worthiest note to him. The integrity of his heart fixed them to his interest. As a son he was one of the most kind and dutiful, as a brother ye most affectionate. His generosity towards his family was such as hardly to be equalled, his circumstances and his age find it hard to be excelled. In short, he lived an honour to his name, his friends, and his country.

"His race was short, being only 26 years of age when he died, but early glorious. Every generation must admire, may they imitate, so bright an example. His parents have erected this monument as a lasting testimony of their affection and of his virtues."

THE PROVINCE OF KIANGSI, CHINA.

His Majesty's Consul at Kiukiang has forwarded, through His Majesty's Minister at Peking, an important Report (China, No. 1, 1903). It is hoped that instructions be given to all British Consuls to issue similar reports as to their respective provinces. Kiangsi is bounded on the north by the River Yang-tze, by the Chiu-kung mountains, which form the watershed between the Yung-hsin or Hsing-kuo Chou River in Hupei and the Hsiu or Ningchou River in Kiangsi, and by a part of Anhui. Its area is estimated at 72,176 square miles, and its population from ten to twelve millions. British shipping carries about 70 per cent. of the trade of the port. The Consul's opinion is: "The extension of British and other foreign enterprise and legitimate influence in China is to be sought not along the line of a general opening-up of the country, but by endeavouring to induce the Chinese Government to adopt a more enlightened fiscal and commercial

policy ; by encouraging it to take British and other foreign experts into its employ for carrying out useful reforms and enterprises ; by assisting approved companies or syndicates of acknowledged standing to acquire concessions for railways, mines, factories, tea-planting or similar undertakings, in clearly defined areas, under agreements to which the Chinese Government, central or provincial, is a party, and possibly by opening fresh treaty ports." "In case of capitals of provinces the advantage would be as much political as commercial, as it would consist in facilitating intercourse with the provincial Government, and with the higher ranks of Chinese officialdom generally, and so promoting the wider diffusion of education, and breaking down the barriers of ignorance and prejudice."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD; LONDON, 1902.

1. *The Forests of Upper India and their Inhabitants*, by THOMAS W. WEBBER, late Forest Surveyor for the North-West Provinces and Deputy Conservator of Forests in the Central Provinces and Gorakhpur. With maps. This useful and instructive volume treats of the great importance of forests to India. The author, whilst describing his experiences, not only as regards engineering and constructing of roads and surveying of forests both in the hills and on the plains of North-Western and Central India, with its multifarious duties, but also—being an inveterate sportsman—gives a most interesting description of the big and small game (furred and feathered) to be found in the districts which he traversed in the ordinary course of his duties. These duties extended over a period of ten years, and Mr. Webber renders great tribute to Sir Dietrich Brandis, Inspector-General of Forests, "to whose scientific and untiring energy the Government of India is indebted for the establishment and organization of its Forest Department on the best principles." The organization of this Department, commenced thirty odd years ago, has laid the foundation of vast improvement, financially and economically, as the latest Indian Forest Report amply shows. There are twenty-one chapters, of which the following are some of their titles: "Tiger-haunted Jungles," "Among the Snow Peaks," "Forests and Ranges of the Middle Zone," "The Upper Valleys and Country of the Bhotias," "The Land of the Huns," "No Man's Land," "The great Chir Pine Forest," "The Terai," "Forests of Gorakhpur and Nepal Terai," etc. It concludes with an appendix on the scientific management of forests; the facts and arguments which are therein advanced are well worthy of attention and consideration.

CASELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND
MELBOURNE, 1902.

2. *British Nigeria: A Geographical and Historical Description of the British Possessions adjacent to the Niger River, West Africa*, by LIEUT.-COLONEL A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN, F.R.G.S., etc., author of "Up the Niger," etc. With map, illustrations, and appendix. This volume is a revised and greatly extended edition of the author's work, "British West Africa." Many chapters have been rewritten, with the view of supplying reliable information up to date of this most interesting section of our West African possessions. The various changes are noted with regard to the administration of the country and the limitation of the Niger Coast Protectorate. The author shows that British Nigeria is a land of great promise, and he is of opinion that it has a great future before it. He has endeavoured with great distinctness to tell the tale of the past and its present condition. He also gives a forecast of the future. The customs and religion of the

natives, the folk-lore, and the products of the country are all graphically described. The appendix contains the terms of the Anglo-French Convention, and of the awards given by Baron Lambermont on the question of the "Sergent Malamine," important for reference. The map and illustrations are excellent, and the index is such that the reader can obtain at once information on the various subjects or topics contained in the volume. Our space does not permit us to give specimens of the author's descriptions of the native forms of worship, ancient customs, folk-lore, markets, villages, and traders, which are exhibited by numerous and well-executed illustrations. The work opens up a magnificent avenue for the efforts of commerce, civilized industry, education, and Christian missions.

C. J. CLAY AND SONS; CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
LONDON, 1903.

3. *The Didascalia Apostolorum done into Syriac*. This is No. I. of "Horæ Semiticæ," and is edited from a Mesopotamian manuscript by Mrs. MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON. It includes various readings and also collations of other manuscripts.

The Syrian text of the "Didascalia" was first edited in the French language in 1854 by Dr. Paul Lagarde from the Paris manuscript, and was published at Leipzig. The original manuscript was in Greek, but it is not now known to exist. To Mrs. Dr. Gibson belongs the credit of putting forth for the first time a translation of this ancient work in the English language. Besides the translation of Professor Lagarde, another translation into French appeared in 1902 made by Professor F. Nau, of the Catholic College in Paris. Mrs. Gibson has had the advantage of comparing her work with these French translations, as also with fragments of a translation into Latin, published two years ago by Professor Edmund Hauler at Leipzig. The various readings and collations are contained in footnotes, which are very numerous, and go all through the work.

From the same publishers is issued a translation of the Syriac text ("Horæ Semiticæ," No. XI.) into English by the same distinguished authoress. In the margins of both works, the original and the translation, there are indicated in English the chapter and verse of the Scripture passages quoted in course of the work.

What the date of the Greek original of the work may have been is not known. It must have been quite early in the Christian centuries, for passages are cited from it by St. Epiphanius, who is known to have lived as far back as the fourth century. It is assigned by the various editors (French, English, and Latin) to the third century, the first six books of the "Apostolic Constitutions" being known to be but an amplification of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, which "Constitutions" were compiled a century later. There will, however, arise in the mind of the reader a serious question, How should any body of ecclesiastical rulers attempt to use the names of their predecessors instead of their own, as is done in the title of this work? When, however, one has got over the uneasy sensation occasioned by this initial difficulty, it must be acknowledged that most of the

precepts and practices inculcated in the "Didascalia" are excellent, and are well worthy of our consideration. It is interesting to remark that a work of this nature should thus have been undertaken with equal enthusiasm and self-sacrificing devotion by Protestants and Papists in our own times. It is impossible to praise too highly the work of Mrs. Gibson and her accomplished sister and Dr. Rendel Harris in connection with the ancient Christian lore which they are ever and anon bringing to public notice. Future generations will not fail to own the obligation.—B.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LIMITED; 2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
WESTMINSTER, 1902.

4. *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, by G. F.-H. BERKELEY. With maps. The author, after having consulted the various authorities in Italian, French, and English, and official despatches, has admirably succeeded in writing a very minute and interesting account of the disasters which befell Italian operations in Abyssinia, and of the rise of Menelik as Negus Nagasti of Abyssinia. The various battles and the skill, courage, and bravery of the Italian troops have been little known in England, and for the first time we have been furnished with the details of the campaign. As the author says, "it may rank as a peculiar phenomenon—for it amounts to nothing less—that a European army of about twenty thousand men should be annihilated by a native African race." But it may be noted that the Italian Government did not realize the difficulties of the country and the preparations of Menelik. And probably the Italian disaster and the success of the Negus will stimulate other organizations by chiefs and natives to repel European operations in other portions of Africa, where, instead of advancing civilization, are setting tribes against tribes, resulting in savage cruelty and restriction. The volume is replete with dramatic incidents especially connected with the battles of Amba Alagi and Adowa. The proclamation of Menelik previous to the battle of the former is worthy of quotation. He says: "Hitherto God has graciously preserved our native land. He has permitted us to conquer our enemies and reconstituted our Ethiopia. It is by the grace of God that I have reigned hitherto, and if my death is near I have no anxiety on that account, for death is the fate of all men. But to this day God has never humiliated me. In the same manner He will sustain me through the future. An enemy has come across the sea. He has broken through our frontier in order to destroy our fatherland and our faith. I allowed him to seize my possessions, and I entered upon lengthy negotiations with him in hopes of obtaining justice without bloodshed. But the enemy refuses to listen. He continues to advance: he undermines our territories and our people like a mole. Enough! With the help of God I will defend the inheritance of my forefathers and drive back the invader by force of arms. Let every man who has sufficient strength accompany me, and he who has not let him pray for us." With such sentiments Menelik and his people entered on the struggle. The result will be found in this admirable volume. There are various maps giving the respective positions of the parties engaged, and a good index.

FELIX L. DAMES ; BERLIN, 1902.

5. *Die Sâṃkhya Philosophie als Natur-lehre und Erlösungs-lehre, Nach dem Mahâbhârata*, by JOSEPH DAHLMANN, S.J. In this volume Herr Dahlmann makes a further valuable contribution to the series of monographs in which he has been dealing with the significance and historical sequence of those fundamental philosophic conceptions which moulded the thought of India during the Epic period, and subsequently came to play a world-wide part in human history under the form of Buddhism.

In opposition to the prevalent view, Herr Dahlmann's main thesis is that the shape in which the Sâṃkhya philosophy appears in the great Epic of India is an earlier, more self-coherent, more original form of that system than the one which is systematically expounded in the classical philosophical texts, such as the "Sâṃkhya Kârîka" of Ishwara Kṛishna, or the probably still later Sâṃkhya Sûtras.

In the last few years there has been a considerable reawakening of interest in the Sâṃkhya, and many admirable labours—notably, those of Richard Garbe—have added considerably to our knowledge of the classical Sâṃkhya and its texts. Now, the main features in which, as Dahlmann proves, the Epic Sâṃkhya differs from its classical form, are both essential and fundamental in the system. The former teaches, in common with the Yoga system of Patanjali (sometimes called the theistic Sâṃkhya), the existence of an Ishwara or World Ruler and one single unitary, universal, all-pervading, actionless Purusha or Self, described in terms absolutely identical to those applied in the Upanishads to define the Brahman; while, on the contrary, the classical Sâṃkhya texts explicitly deny the existence of Ishwara and assert the existence of a plurality of equally eternal, changeless, actionless Purushas, individual, numerically different spiritual selves or monads. When we compare these essential features which differentiate the Sâṃkhya of the Mahâbhârata from that of the Kârîkas, we cannot fail to be struck with the fact that the former accords much more closely with the dominant thought of the Upanishads, the conception of Brahman-Âtma, than does the latter. And, again, in regard to what is always a vital point in Indian philosophizing, the doctrine of Mukti or Liberation, not only does the Epic Sâṃkhya fall better into line with the ideas of the Upanishads than does its classical form, but just those special features which distinguish it render intelligible what has hitherto seemed altogether strained and unnatural—viz., how the Yoga of Patanjali, an essentially theistic and devotional system of practical mysticism, seeking union with the One, could adopt as its philosophical basis a system which, in its classical form, denies the existence of God and teaches a fundamental plurality of spiritual selves instead of a unity.

These and many other reasons which Herr Dahlmann discusses at length naturally lead to the conclusion that the Epic Sâṃkhya is continuous, so to speak, with the Upanishads; while the classical form of the system, as found in the Kârîka, is a later modification. And, as Dahlmann points out, this conclusion, if fully established, would also help us to understand how the Vedanta, which differs so essentially from the Sâṃkhya,

nevertheless appears to have adopted the psychology and cosmology of the latter practically unaltered.

All students of Indian thought owe a debt of gratitude to Herr Dahlmann for his labours, which are rendered the more inspiring and full of interest by the fact that his attention is mainly given to that thought itself, to its living significance, its natural movement and growth, its organic correlations and affiliations, rather than to purely philological or literary details of less vital moment. The whole treatment of his subject is most stimulating and attractive, he writes readable German prose (a rare accomplishment to find in a scholar), and possesses considerable literary quality and force of style.—B. K.

MESSRS. HACHETTE AND CO. ; 79, BOULEVARD ST. GERMAIN,
PARIS, 1902.

6. *À Travers le Turkestan Russe (Across Russian Turkestan)*, by HUGO KRAFFT, with 265 illustrations. Everything has been done in the art of binding, printing, and illustrating to render the book worthy of the great success to which its contents so fully entitle it. It obtained the gold medal of the Geographical Society of Paris, and also the highest distinction of the French Academy.

The author, whose portrait appears on the frontispiece, has brought to light, from its least known side, through pictorial representations, a part of the world which, including Khiva and Bokhara, covers an area almost as large as one-fourth of Europe. During his stay of several months he made a collection of photographs, which he has grouped, described, and reproduced in this magnificent volume.

The work is divided into seven parts: I. New Russian Towns; II. Old Native Towns (like the English in India, the Russians live away from the native centres, thus creating modern towns suited to the requirements of European life); III. Monuments of Samarkand; IV. Country and Scenery; V. Dwellings and Customs; VI. The Different Types of the People and their Dress; VII. The Great Muhammadan Festivals.

Mr. Krafft's descriptions of places are extremely interesting and fascinating. He is very enthusiastic about Samarkand—"the eye and the star"—as Timur, or Tamerlane, called it, when he made it the capital of his empire in the fourteenth century. Its magnificent structures, Mr. Krafft tells us, are quite as imposing as the most celebrated monuments of ancient Greece and Rome were, and are of unspeakable beauty, covered with enamelled tiles of unique colouring, and gold inscriptions. He says that the mausoleum of Tamerlane's wife, *Bibi Khānum*, is more beautiful than the famous *Tāj Mahal* in India. It is a masterpiece of Tamerlane. Mr. Krafft incidentally acquaints us with a trait of character not generally attributed to this great conqueror—his great respect for learning, of which the following is an example: In the *Gūr-i-Mir*, where Tamerlane and his sons are buried, is also the tomb of his friend and teacher, *Mir Sa'id Barakat*, who died before Tamerlane, when the latter ordered that when his own time came to be laid to rest, he should be laid at the feet of his teacher. His sarcophagus of white marble is placed as

directed. The author gives vent to the following sentiments: "Nowhere more than here, you are reminded of the variety of everything in the world, when you contemplate this small space reserved for the remains of the greatest conqueror, who united under his sceptre nearly the whole of Asia, and who would have conquered the whole of the Occident if death had not intervened."

The illustrations—reproductions from excellent photographs—are very beautiful. The book is delightful reading, full of entertainment and instruction. It has also an appendix of valuable notes and a good map. The types of the people that the author has chosen are very characteristic. Turks form the principal part of the population, who are divided into four groups: the Khirghiz, the Turkomans, the Kipchaks, and the Uzbeks. The rest of the population are Chinese-Mussulmans, Jews, Armenians, Persians, Hindus, Afghans, and Tartars. The religion of Muhammad has reigned supreme up to the present day, having suppressed the cult of Zoroaster and also Christianity, which had been spread by the Nestorians.

Since the Transcasian railway line has been opened, one can actually cover the whole distance from Paris to Tashkend in a fortnight. Forty years ago it required many long weeks to reach Central Asia, and one had to go through all sorts of hardships as well. In a few years, no doubt, one will be able to accomplish the journey in eight days when the line on which they are already at work from Orenburg to Tashkend will connect St. Petersburg with the seat of government at Turkestan.

After describing, in the last part of his book, how the great Muhammadan festivals are celebrated, the author ends with the following striking soliloquy: "Seeing these multitudes represented by all classes in the country plunged in deep meditation, I could not help thinking of the sadness of indifference, not to speak of atheism, which invades our occidental empires, called 'civilized countries.' I wondered who were happier, we Christians, so inclined to discuss and to doubt, or those Mussulmans so full of, and so strong, in their faith. Compared with the sober and patriarchal existence of these populations, is our material progress so enviable as we think? I think they are happier than we are, these Asiatics, with their simple heart, who respect the traditions of their past, and whose immovable beliefs are perpetuated for future generations, as surely as they have been transmitted to the present generation, as a testimony of earthly happiness and a promise of future felicity."

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON AND CO.; TRAFALGAR BUILDINGS, CHARING CROSS, LONDON.

7. *The Science of Civilization*, by MAJOR CECIL B. PHIPSON, author of "The Redemption of Labour."

Had not an article from the pen of the author of this learned and acutely-penetrative work appeared in our pages recently, and its readers, therefore, been afforded an opportunity to test the quality of Major Phipson's wide-reaching thoughts and plans for the amelioration of the conditions of civilized human existence, we should have hesitated to have

used some of the terms of praise concerning "The Science of Civilization," which we now unhesitatingly employ. The readers of the article on "Indian Poverty and Indian Famines" (see January number, pp. 1-45) will concede the great ability in the handling of serious problems which that article indicated. Major Phipson has done for the complex conditions, which make or mar the prosperity of nations in present times, what Charles Darwin did for the doctrine of evolution when he wrote "The Descent of Man." That is high praise; it is not a bit too high. Beginning with uncivilized man's first attempts at trading for profit, the course of our present intricate, commercial, financial, and administrative civilization is indicated with a lucidity which leaves no point untouched, no difficulty which is not grappled with. Part I. deals with Pure Economics, and is subdivided into four books which respectively deal with Agriculture, Manufacture, Commerce, and Government. Each of these topics is elaborated with a clear-cut exposition of principle adorned by luminous illustrations. There are no fewer than sixteen subsections in the "Government" section. The second part of the volume deals with the application of pure economics, particularly in regard to the foundations in finance of British commerce, and indeed of the whole strangely assorted British social life. The seventh chapter of this part is entitled "The Adoption by Poorer Nations of the British Money Unit, and its Consequences to Great Britain."

We are not going too far when we say that this chapter throws a flood of light on the severe economic difficulties which British agriculturists and manufacturers have encountered since 1872, and that a careful perusal of it would remove many misconceptions. Major Phipson argues that the adoption, first by Germany and afterwards by most other civilized States, as the material of their standard values the same valuable material as had hitherto been used exclusively by Great Britain alone, "is the momentous external event which has produced within the United Kingdom exactly the same economic effects as if her national currency had suffered a sudden and violent contraction." This novel statement of British industrial and agricultural troubles is worked with much skill, and one follows its delineation with the absorbing interest that a game of skill played by great players is watched by interested onlookers. The bearing of all this on Free Trade, as regards Great Britain, is also shown. A powerful argument on this regard is summed up in the sentence: "Thus genuine Free Trade brought nothing but gain to Great Britain, since it did no injury to the agricultural class, whilst enormously benefiting its manufacturing and commercial classes." It is added: "But genuine Free Trade ceased for Great Britain in the year 1874, not through any action of hers, but through that of other nations." No fewer than fourteen chapters in this part are devoted to the remedy: the climax is to be found in the adoption of "an exclusively national currency, which must be of paper." Such a currency "carries in its train the following reforms":

"1. The compulsory acceptance by foreign States of British manufactures in return for all commodities sent her, other than such as pay for services rendered.

"2. The issue of paper money by the State in such quantities as maintains stability in the price of food.

"3. The creation of National Banks for the safe-keeping of private deposits, and prohibition of all cheques save those drawn upon these banks.

"4. The abstention of the State from all enforcement of private contracts, which reduce the public demand for money, leaving rent contracts alone remaining for enforcement, since these increase such demand.

"5. The conversion of bankers into true money-brokers, dependent for all advances they make upon deposits entrusted to them for investment.

"6. The reliance of brokers for repayment upon the personal character of borrowers instead of upon legal security, and their consequent acceptance from merchants of such terms as permit these to realize the largest returns in profit.

"7. The abstention henceforward of merchants from all connection with machinery, as incapacitating them from realizing the full profits of trade, or competing successfully with foreign rivals.

"8. Their despatch abroad of ever-increasing armies of agents intent upon making not only the largest sales of home manufactures, but also of obtaining the largest returns in foreign labour-products.

"9. The enlisting in this peaceful and well-paid army of the thousands of splendid and capable youths, for whose abundant and adventurous energies it is becoming daily less possible to obtain any fitting and profitable employment."

Of course the reforms here enumerated are not expected to be suddenly or violently secured, but they become the ultimate goals in their several economic departments towards which all remedial measures must move, if prosperity is to be secured for all classes of the community.

The transforming forces—reason, religion (including all the great un-Christian faiths), Helraison, and Christianity—are fascinatingly treated. Our readers, who are specially interested in India, the final section, entitled "Consequences to England and India of the Partial Adoption by the Latter of the Former's Money Unit," is alone worth the entire cost of the work. If every civilian, and not only budding civilians, but also the men sent out to share in the ruling of India who are not civilians, were compelled to pass an examination in the teachings of this book as a whole, and to commit the final section to memory, a new day of prosperity would dawn for India.

P. S. KING AND SON, ORCHARD HOUSE, WESTMINSTER; 1903.

8. *Civilization in Congoland: A Story of International Wrong-doing*, by H. R. FOX BOURNE, author of "A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney," "The Life of John Locke," "The Other Side of the Emin Pasha Expedition," etc. Mr. Fox Bourne's present work is prefaced by a note by Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart, M.P., in which he says: "The Congo State, misnamed 'Free' in memory of its promise, accepted by Europe, as to the elevation of the native and the encouragement of the foreigner, though founded in

the name of Almighty God for international purposes, has been, and is, the home of appalling misgovernment and oppression." "It will not now be denied, outside of Belgium, that Europe set up, in the vast Congo district, a State far worse than the Portuguese, even as the Portuguese then were, without allowance for the improvements which would have been introduced under the treaty—that is, the treaty of Berlin of February, 1884, and the subsequent Brussels Conference of 1889-1890. The fiendish cruelty toward the natives, which has at times been exercised by some of those employed by the Congo State, is not now denied even by the administrators of the State itself, and has been officially recognised by our own Government. It is, however, declared that things are better now; but of this there is little or no evidence." "One of the greatest difficulties of ourselves and of the French has been the extension, outside of Congo boundaries, of the effect produced by the cruelties and consequent insurrection which have prevailed within the Congo Valley."

The Congo Valley comprises the vast area in Equatorial Africa, which is watered by the great river and its affluents at least 1,500,000 square miles in extent, with a frontage of about 400 miles on the Atlantic side, and broadening out into a rough quadrangle more than thrice as long, and nearly twice as wide, with its zigzag base in the low level formed by the Tanganyika and adjacent lakes. It comprises, therefore, all the regions watered by the Congo and its affluents, including Lake Tanganyika with its eastern tributaries.

Mr. Fox Bourne, in a preliminary chapter, briefly describes the earliest inhabitants of this vast region, the various tribes, the advent of the Portuguese and the French, the slave trade and its cruelties and horrors, and the intervention of the British and other European powers to put an end to this atrocious trade. The work then details King Leopold's project during 1876-1884; the Berlin Conference, 1884-1885; the commencement of the Congo State, 1885-1889; early explorations and enterprises from 1885-1890; the Brussels Conference, 1889-1890; the commercial developments, 1890-1893; the anti-slavery crusading, 1890-1894; international complications, administrative abuses, the raids and rebellions and persecutions—all pointing out, in a clear and forcible manner, the necessity of immediate and vigorous international action towards the abuses of administration, in defiance of treaties and conferences, and the cruelties which continue to be perpetrated on the natives. Mr. Fox Bourne concludes his admirable work by stating that it must be remembered "that in the heart of Africa, vitally affecting the welfare of all the surrounding portions of the continent which are in present or prospective occupation by the European Powers, is a poisonous growth of spurious civilization which contaminates and more than threatens overwhelming injury to all its neighbours. The territory of the Congo State has been converted into a vast field of havoc and spoliation, mainly through the training and arming of Congo savages for the shooting of other savages;" hence the duty of firm and vigorous action on the part of the British Government. There is attached to the work an excellent map, showing the extent of the countries and its boundaries with other European possessions or protectorates, and a very useful index.

ERMANN LOESCHER AND CO.; ROME, 1902.

9. *The Malabar Christians*, by SAMUEL GIAMIL. When we say that this work is contained in as many as 648 octavo pages of close print, and that the prefatory part of it extends to forty-eight pages more, it will be seen that the work is bulky. It consists of communications between the Christians of St. Thomas at Malabar and the authorities of the Papal Church in Rome. With the exception of a few pages which are in the English language, the entire work is printed in Syriac and in Latin, the Syriac being the ecclesiastical language of the Chaldæo-Syrian Christians of Malabar. The documents brought together in this work are largely of a historical and religious nature, setting forth the history of the people commonly known as "the Syrian Thomasites" (or converts of Thomas the Apostle), and representing to the Papal authorities the vicissitudes of that people from the first, as also the negotiations that have from time to time been carried on between them and the Vatican. From these documents it appears that the memorialists, formerly subject to the authority of the Chaldæan Patriarch, were by the royal power of the Portuguese in the East Indies "illegally and treacherously" separated from his authority. The story is a long and complicated one, and has but little interest for any class of readers excepting the authorities of the Roman Church and the Syro-Chaldæan Christians of Malabar. It may suffice the purposes of this Review to say that the separation alluded to, so far from contributing to the amalgamation of the Malabar Christians with the Church of Rome, has given rise to very serious dissension among them, and also to the detriment of the interests of the Papal Propaganda. The suppliants, accordingly, pray for complete severance from the Church of Rome, and for the restoration of the authority of the Syrian Patriarchs. In this alone are they able to see any prospects of peace in the days to come.

We may remark that the documents are conceived in a humble and eminently pacific and conciliatory spirit, and are written in excellent temper. For all who feel an interest in the controversies of this somewhat out-of-the-way branch of Church History, and who are at the same time sufficiently familiar with the languages in which the volume is published, this rather voluminous work will be found to contain authoritative information. It is, indeed, as far as we are aware, the only available repertory of such information regarding the subject of which it treats. To all this it may be added that the work is carefully printed, that it has a very full table of contents and a good index, and that it has been altogether well executed by everyone who has had a hand in it.—B.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET; LONDON, 1902.

10. *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, by SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., of the Bengal Educational Service, Member of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, etc. Edited by the HON. W. W. ROCKHILL. This is the first book published on Tibet which conveys to the reader acquainted with the subject from the Chinese or historical point of view a feeling of perfect trustworthiness and vivid simplicity. Fortunate, indeed, was Chandra Das in obtaining so

absolutely competent an editor as Mr. Rockhill. The number of European and American persons who possess any first-hand knowledge of Tibet may be counted on the fingers; but the number of persons who have been there, who have a scientific knowledge of its language and history, and who are at the same time sufficiently acquainted with Chinese ways and speech like Mr. Rockhill, may be counted on the thumbs of one hand. Mr. Rockhill went out as a supernumerary *attaché* of the United States Legation, with the special object of studying Tibetan from its highest standpoint—*i.e.*, from diplomatic headquarters at Peking. Having seen subsequent political service in Corea and China, he then made a very remarkable journey in the Kokoner and Eastern Tibet regions, his book on the subject being well known to all serious students of Far Eastern questions. Chandra Das's narrative is straightforward, honest, and simple throughout; we feel that his lamas, doctors, princesses, and beggar-thieves are all natural, human personages, and we gain a "personal" insight into the Potala and Tashilhunpo monasteries which makes us feel that the Dalai and Panchen "popes" are no longer semi-mythical beings hidden away from our mundane curiosity. Needless to say, Mr. Rockhill's notes are learned and accurate throughout. In one or two places, perhaps, he allows us to surmise that Chinese is less of a complete speciality with him than Tibetan, and in the notes alluding to the ancient bilingual stones, over 1,000 years old, still standing in Lhasa (on full record in several Chinese works), he seems to have inadvertently omitted to name Dr. S. W. Bushell, late of His Majesty's Legation at Peking, whose services in Tibetan matters took very high rank indeed until Mr. Rockhill appeared on the scene and eclipsed all his predecessors.—E. H. PARKER.

11. *Delhi Past and Present*, by H. C. FANSHAWE, C.S.I., Bengal Civil Service Retired, late Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, and Commissioner of the Delhi Division. With maps and illustrations. Mr. Fanshawe modestly informs us that his work is intended as a guide to Delhi. But it is more than a guide—it is a complete guide drawn from various sources and personal information, with a valuable history of this famous city, past and present, and of the stirring scenes during the Mutiny. The numerous illustrations of buildings, mosques, and mausoleums are beautiful, giving the reader a bird's-eye view of the whole city and its surroundings. The volume is accompanied with a map of the Siege of Delhi, and a leaflet of special information regarding the Coronation Darbar at Delhi at Christmas, 1902, and the New Year.

The volume affords to visitors to the city not only a clear guide to all that is to be seen there, but also an intelligent record of the history of the place in all its various phases, and will help to secure a permanent impression on the memories of such, and of many others with regard to the great and gallant feat of arms performed in the summer of 1857 by a very small force under most arduous and trying conditions. The author earnestly appeals that further steps be taken to protect the buildings and sites, and the ancient memorials in and around the city. Besides the maps referred to, there are no fewer than ten maps and plans of the city, the

various battles, the ruins of buildings and shrines. Also forty-nine illustrations, beautifully executed, of gates, forts, royal buildings, mausoleums, tombs, and other places of intense interest. There is also a list of the numerous objects of archæological interest at and around the city, with a complete index.

12. *Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart*, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.: *An Account of his Life, mainly in his own Words*. Edited by G. R. Elsmie, c.s.i., joint author of "Lumsden of the Guides." With illustrations and maps. This most interesting volume is dedicated to Lady Stewart, c.i., "without whose loving inspiration the Letters of which it chiefly consists would not have been written." The idea of publishing a sketch of the life of Sir Donald originated with Lord Mount-Stephen, the friend of his boyhood. The task of writing the book was, in the first instance, entrusted to Sir Henry Cunningham, who collected and arranged a large number of letters, memoranda, diaries, and official papers, but, from ill-health, Sir Henry could not proceed farther with the work. Lord Mount-Stephen then invited Mr. Elsmie to complete the task, which he has executed with great skill. He has so linked together letters, memoranda, diaries, and other sources of information that the work has become almost an "unconscious autobiography." The editor is much indebted to many eminent men in the Service, who knew personally Sir Donald Stewart and his valuable work. Some of those are Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, General Sir Peter Lumsden, the Marquis of Ripon, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, Sir Arthur Godley, General Sir John M'Neill, General Sir James Hills-Johnes, General E. F. Chapman, Mr. George Ricketts, the Rev. W. Forsyth, D.D., the Rev. T. J. L. Warneford, and others. The information thus obtained, and the letters from Sir Donald which have been preserved, have been welded into one whole, which gives a continuous and interesting history of Sir Donald from the time he entered, at the age of sixteen, as a cadet in the East India Company's service.

After being educated in the parish school, he obtained a bursary at King's College, Aberdeen, where he gained the first prize in Greek. This, when in India, connected with the 9th Native Infantry at Benares and elsewhere, prompted him to make himself acquainted with the vernacular of the country, which was of great use to him in his future career. In his regimental duties he speedily began to attract attention by proficiency in languages, as well as by smartness, intelligence, and zeal. He had passed the interpreter's examination by the highest standard in Persian and Urdu, so as to qualify him to hold any appointment in India. He eventually became interpreter and quartermaster to his regiment, and was regarded as one of the best interpreters in the Army. By the way, this ought to form an object-lesson to every young officer and official in India, both military and civil.

It is impossible for us to give his account of the Mutiny—the terrible sufferings of our people, and the heroic deeds of our officers and men. His daring and adventurous ride, carrying despatches from Meerut to the camp at Delhi through a country, by roads and passes, infested with mutinous regiments, all rushing to Delhi to resist us and to kill every

European, is one of the most stirring stories of that great upheaval. On his arrival at the camp, he was, on the advice of Sir Henry Norman, appointed on the Adjutant-General's department, and, says Sir Henry, "to the end of the siege Stewart was invaluable in the field, and in office, and at the staff mess, and as a comrade he was ever cheery and companionable. He arrived in camp with hardly anything but what he had on his back, but he was soon sufficiently fitted out." "Few comrades were ever more together than Edwin Johnson, Donald Stewart, Fred Roberts, and myself." From that time his promotion was rapid. After his command in Peshawur, he was appointed First Commissioner and Superintendent of the Andamans, when and where Lord Mayo was assassinated. Afterwards he took a prominent part in the second Afghan War, and ultimately became Commander-in-Chief, military Member of Council, and a Baronet, with either a pension of £1,000 a year or a capital sum of £12,500. The latter was accepted. On returning home in 1885, he was received by Queen Victoria, and invested with the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Star of India, and, as Governor of Chelsea Hospital, took up his residence there in 1895. Failing in health, he was advised to go to Algiers in the beginning of 1900, and on March 26 he passed away in presence of his wife, other members of his family, and Sir Henry Norman. This valuable volume is adorned with many excellent illustrations, including maps and photographs of himself and Lady Stewart. There are also appendices and a very copious index, all contributing to the progress, influence, and power of our rule in India.

C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LTD.; LONDON, 1902.

13. *Among Swamps and Giants in Equatorial Africa: An Account of Surveys and Adventures in the Southern Sudan and British East Africa*, by MAJOR H. H. AUSTIN, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, with two maps and many illustrations. This is the history of two expeditions undertaken by the author. The first, which occupies five chapters, is about a survey of the Sabat region. Accompanied by another Engineer Officer, Major R. G. T. Bright, C.M.G., the expedition left Omdurman on December 2, 1899, by steamer up the Blue Nile and the Sabat River, landing at Dom Palm Tree Camp, between Sabat and Nasser forts. Here the expedition commenced its journey through forests full of game of every description, fording streams teeming with hippos, and amongst some tall and finely developed races—the Nuers and the Anuaks—whose habits, customs, and industries are fully described. Later it found itself among the Gallas and Abyssinians. The steep climb to the plateau proved very fatal to the transport animals; but abundance of food was obtainable, and on reaching its turning-point, Marchand's old camp at the Baro gorge, the author received a letter from the Emperor Menelik according him every help and assistance he might require. Continuing along the Gelo, the country round which is barren and inhospitable, with no animal life but the loathsome crocodiles, they reached the Pibor on May 22, and got back to Omdurman on July 7, where the party broke up.

The second part, consisting of eighteen chapters, deals with another expedition through the Sudan to Mombasa via Lake Rudolf. This was on a greater scale than the previous one, had an escort of 20 non-commissioned officers of the 10th Sudanese under a native officer, Mabruk Effendi, Major Bright, and Dr. John Garner, with 4 personal servants, 32 Jehadia, 15 camels, 12 mules, and 125 donkeys, and reached Nasser Post on January 12. After leaving which, they were cut off from all communication with the outer world until they reached Baringo Post in East Africa in August, 1901, after undergoing most horrible and distressing experiences, especially among hordes of hostile Turkana, who are veritable giants in stature. The author says: "I have toned down several harrowing details which found a place in my diary during periods of hazard and anxiety, when our prospects seemed hopeless. . . . I and my two comrades barely escaped with our lives, and of the fifty-nine Sudanese only fourteen reached safety with us." We can cordially recommend the volume to the attention of our readers.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LTD. ; LONDON, 1902.

14. *Progressive Exercises in the Chinese Written Language*, by T. L. BULLOCK, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Professor Bullock had the advantage of studying Pekingese colloquial under the immediate direction of Sir Thomas Wade, and throughout his subsequent career in China his official position has given him access to "Exercises in the Written Language" in almost all their possible forms—proclamations, official despatches, semi-official letters, novels, title-deeds, legal documents, and what not. Moreover, he was employed for some years as Accountant, Assistant-Chinese Secretary, and Chinese Secretary at the Peking Legation; not to mention earlier service as Vice-Consul and Consul at a dozen ports, and later service as Assistant-Judge at Shanghai, and so on. Hence he has had every facility for judging what is best for the early student in these matters, and he has given us the result of his reflections in a handsome and neatly printed volume of 250 odd pages. He seems to have been particularly careful to "take no risks," the sentences, from first to last, having manifestly been culled from original documents. The spelling throughout is strictly in accordance with Wade's system.

There is one point in which it may perhaps be permitted to differ somewhat from Professor Bullock. He says: "The study of the Chinese written language should commence with the 214 radicals." The writer of this appreciative notice thinks, on the other hand, that the study of the Chinese written language should begin from the very first instance with the correct writing of it, and that the 214 radicals may be totally ignored as a useless charge upon the memory, except in so far that the student may be informed (whenever the word he is writing happens to be a radical) that it is a radical, but that the fact is destitute of all significance, except that the radicals are conventionally used by dictionary makers for the purpose of categories, by the help of which other characters may be the more easily searched out.—E. H. PARKER.

SANDS AND CO., 12, BURLEIGH STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

15. *Toscanelli and Columbus : the Letter and Chart of Toscanelli on the Route to the Indies by way of the West, sent in 1474 to the Portuguese Fernam Martins, and later on to Christopher Columbus*, by HENRY VIGNAUD, First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris ; Vice-President of the Society of Americanists of Paris, etc. This remarkable and interesting volume contains a critical and exhaustive study, from original sources, as to the authenticity and value of the above documents and the sources of the cosmographical ideas of Columbus ; there are also given the various texts of the celebrated Letter with translations, annotations, several facsimiles and map, and a very copious index, etc. The author's conclusions, after a rigid scrutiny of the various documents he has examined, are that the letter and chart in question, so far as Columbus himself is concerned, are apocryphals ; that Columbus never corresponded with Toscanelli ; and that consequently he could not have borrowed from that scholar any of the cosmographical and geographical notions which are supposed to have led him to his great discovery. If the author's position is well founded, and he challenges farther investigation, then we shall have to dismiss as false all that we have hitherto believed as to the circumstances which determined Columbus to undertake his voyage, for when he embarked he had no scientific theory whatever, but only his own cerebral vision, skill, determination, and courage. The volume is replete with research and argument, and is a most valuable contribution to real and accurate history.

T. FISHER UNWIN, PATERNOSTER SQUARE ; LONDON, 1902.

16. *A Literary History of Persia from the Earliest Times until Firdawsi*, by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. ; SIR THOMAS ADAMS, Professor of Arabic, etc., Cambridge. In welcoming the very valuable volume it is impossible to enter upon any close criticism of its details.

The mechanical immensity of the books and documents which its subject includes stops one at once. The Perso-Arabic literature, even if it were before us in easy English, could not be profitably read by anyone in less time than some years ; what time, then, by arithmetical measure, would be occupied by a reader who glanced from the supposed translations to the texts in print, lithograph, or manuscript, not to speak of making a serious critical estimate upon each ? Well does the author intimate that he would feel less, rather than more, prepared some twenty years hence for such a work. There is one book alone of urgent, not to say of supreme, importance which requires special aptitude and training even after its literal wording has been fully understood. This is the Mathnawi of Rūmī, the Bible of Persia.

From this the reader can get an idea of our indebtedness to the author for having brought up to us such a thoughtful view of the matter as a whole, even if he has been obliged to rely upon predecessors to an extent corresponding to the dimensions of the task. As to some 100 pages out of the 520, he especially abjures originality and special knowledge, most honourably so ; but even here his percentage of oversights is the lowest

that could possibly be expected, while his compend of information upon the subject of what he treats is very useful and interesting, especially for readers not familiar with German.

Among the inevitable omissions we might notice one or two in the sketch of the history of Zoroastrian science.

The author has naturally fallen a victim to a freak of mutual admiration. Two prominent authors figure in the scene, the one originally having been an insulting critic of the other. But the Frenchman took revenge upon a third scathing reviewer by falling into the arms of the last enemy's rival. So that we had at last the cheering sight of a meeting of extremes, and the man who followed tradition into its most extraordinary details accentuated the genius of the one who despised even the alphabet of the Pahlavi. The author could easily have discovered that the German had not modified his extreme exclusive views under the influence of the Frenchman. Those views and that procedure which overlooked the Pahlavi language began to be modified in 1881.

Then an historical sketch ought to have pointed out that the striking opinion in which the German has at last landed was the suggestion of the laborious Nestor of German Zend philology. This view was of a highly sensational character. It was to the effect that the Gāthic Vishtāspa was the Vishtāspa (Hystaspes) of the Inscriptions, and indeed the father of Darius. If this could only be admitted, the Gāthas would be brought close to us indeed through the Achæmenian Inscriptions and the Bible! We would, all of us, give up willingly some centuries of prior antiquity if we could but be sure for a moment that such an opinion expressed the truth. The picture held up to us by it positively glitters. But it was a distinct surrender to the venerable Spiegel, who had suffered so deeply from a combined hypercriticism; and it was a surrender without apology or recognition. This latter, however, does not lie to the charge of our author, who could not be expected to have heard of the items, notorious as they are to all close observers in the specialty. In noticing the "swing" of opinions upon the origin of the Avesta, the tergiversations of the German should not have been given without some notice of the somersault of the Frenchman whom he describes as "incomparable." No such sudden change made with scarcely a retraction has even taken place, so far as we are aware, in the history of Avesta literature, or indeed of any other ancient lore. One curious blemish is the somewhat blatant advertisement of a favoured but as yet, let us hope, only half-developed scholar, strikingly set off as it is by the total boycotting of another. But all this is really very harmless, and it easily corrects itself under the eyes of an expert.

Quite as minute are the few oversights as to other technical particulars. For instance, the "Zend" of the Avesta is not entirely Pahlavi, nor was it at all Pahlavi in its original form. "Commentary" arose from "comments" long before Pahlavi originated, as all prophets find their expounders at once. We have even a fine example of this in Yasna XIX., where a most interesting discussion of the Avesta text was made in the Avesta language. As to the name "Zend" for the speech, that has become unfortunately fixed to avoid the sound of "Avestic." "Avestica" as Latin relieves us

from the last syllable of "Avestic," whereas "Vedic" has at once in the English a pleasant cadence. "Zend Philology" is correct enough, for "Avesta Philology" might exclude the Pahlavi. "Zend-Avesta" is, of course, quite in order as a quasi composition, "the Commentary-lore"—i.e., "the Lore with Commentary." The present writer can hardly agree that the Parsi-Persian of the ninth century would be wholly free from Semitic elements, if this was really meant; the Parsi of the translations is, of course, plentifully sown with it. With these few items of mild dissent, we would at once proceed to thank our very active author. The book abounds in life touches, reminding us at every step that we have to do with a traveller, and, above all, with a scholar who does not neglect his MSS. And the volume is seldom or never dull. It is prolegomena alone, and in a second part we are to have "the History of Persian Literature within the strict meaning of the term." We await it with interest. It is to be "independent" of this the first publication of the two.

T. FISHER UNWIN, LONDON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK
1903.

17. *Mediæval India under Mohammedan Rule* (A.D. 712-1764), by STANLEY LANE-POOLE, author of "Turkey," "The Moors in Spain," etc. This is another valuable addition to the Story of the Nations series. The learned author, in his preface, says that the mediæval period of Indian history begins when the immemorial systems, rule, and customs of Ancient India were invaded, subdued, and modified by a succession of foreign conquerors who imposed a new rule, and introduced an exotic creed, strange languages, and a foreign art. These conquerors were Muslims, and with the arrival of the Turks under Mahmud the Iconoclast, at the beginning of the eleventh century, India entered upon her Middle Age. For 800 years her history is grouped round the Mohammedan rulers. The period ends when one of the last of these rulers, oppressed by the revival of Hindu ascendancy, placed himself under English protection, and Modern India came into being. The volume is divided into three books, entitled "The Invasions" (712-1206), "The Kingdom of Delhi" (1206-1526), and "The Moghul Empire" (1526-1764). It terminates with a list of the Mohammedan dynasties and an index. There are fifty-eight illustrations, consisting of portraits, buildings, tombs, mosques, coins, etc.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Travels in North and Central China, by JOHN GRANT BIRCH, illustrated (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 13, Great Marlborough Street, London, 1902). This is a very readable volume of twenty chapters, giving the author's experiences in China. The towns and scenery passed through, besides the customs, habits, and everyday life of the people, are interestingly described, and there are many illustrations which add to the worth of the book.

Just So Stories, for Little Children, by RUDYARD KIPLING, illustrated by the author (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1902). "Bright and out of the common."

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1900. Also *Report of the United States National Museum* (Washington : Government Printing Office, 1902). This volume of nearly 800 pages, with illustrations, shows the indefatigable operations and present condition, financial and otherwise, of this famous institution.

The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory, 1903; and also *Who's Who*, 1903, edited by Emily Janes, organizing secretary to the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland (Messrs. Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square). The former, now in its fifty-fifth year, and the latter in its fifth year of issue, are indispensable to publishers, literary men, and libraries.

Clavicula Salmonis : A Hebrew Manuscript, newly discovered and now described, by HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.LIT., Goldsmid Professor of Hebrew, University College, University of London (D. Nutt, 57-59, Long Acre, London, W.C.). Dr. Gollancz has given a vivid description of a manuscript which is interesting to every student of ancient literature, with respect to religious mysticism, healing art, sorcery, and witchcraft.

Hindustani Grammar Self Taught, by CAPTAIN C. A. THIMM (E. Marlborough and Co., 51, Old Bailey, London, E.C.). A handy work, forming a part of the Marlborough Self-Taught Library. It is divided into four parts : (1) A simplified grammar ; (2) Exercises and examination papers ; (3) the vernacular ; (4) Key and dictionary. The type is good, and the directions simple and excellent.

Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton, by DONALD FERGUSON (Bombay : printed at the Education Society's Steam Press, Byculla, 1902). These letters were written in 1534-36. They are accompanied with an Introduction by the author on Portuguese intercourse with China in the first half of the sixteenth century. They afford an interesting glimpse of ancient history.

The Great Co-operation, by COLONEL T. F. DOWDEN, R.E., retired (Lucknow Methodist Publishing House, 1901). The author's object in writing this small volume is to help those who recognise the Divine plan for co-operation for the welfare of the human race. It treats co-operation in the widest aspect, acquired from a life's experience in practical work and in administrative business. It deserves careful study.

A List of the Best Books relating to Dutch East Indies, by MARTINUS NIJHOFF, bookseller (The Hague, 1902). This useful and interesting compilation has been made up in commemoration of the third centenary of the foundation of the East India Company, in March, 1602. A copy of the list may be obtained from the compiler.

The Boers and the War, from the Impartial Foreigner's Point of View, collated, translated, and arranged by S. N. D., with confirmatory note by SIR FREDERICK R. ST. JOHN, K.C.M.G., late British Minister to Switzerland (London : Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd. Portsmouth :

Charpentier and Co., 1902). This small volume is the outcome of a paper read by the author before an English audience in Lausanne, in February, 1900, the object of which is to sweep away the false impressions of foreigners with respect to the war. It contains chapters, in a concise form, on the cause of the war, the consequence of the gold discovery, the question of intervention, possible peace terms, the women in the concentration camps, and other subjects, compiled principally from eminent Swiss writers and other European publicists.

Chaldean Astrology Up to Date. How to cast the Horoscope, and read the Future in the Stars, by GEORGE WILDE; with preface, valuable notes, and comments, by A. G. TRENT (London: E. Marsh-Stiles, 12, St. Stephen's Mansions, Westminster, and the Occult Book Co., Halifax, Yorkshire). Also by the same author, *The Soul and the Stars*, reprinted from the *University Magazine* for March, 1880, revised and extended by the author (the Occult Book Co.). These works are intended for the service of astrologers, their students, and inquirers, containing much curious and interesting research.

The Anglo-Indian Review, with which is incorporated *British-Indian Commerce and Eastern Trade* (63, Fore Street, London, E.C.). The object of this review is to keep in close touch with the industrial and commercial affairs of India and the East, and to publish each month reports in which the manufacturer and merchant may be informed of the special requirements of Oriental markets. Up to March, three numbers have appeared, containing articles by experts in the various departments of manufacture and natural products, accompanied with excellent illustrations and useful information on a variety of subjects interesting to those who have a special interest in our commerce with India.

Handbook of the Federated Malay States, compiled by H. CONWAY BELFIELD, British Resident of Selangor (Edward Stanford, 12-14, Long Acre, London, W.C.). This excellent handbook has been compiled at the request of the Government for the purpose of supplying reliable information on every topic of interest useful to the man of science or research, those connected with commercial enterprises, and also those who may wish to become residents from Europe. The work is divided according to the divisions of the Malay Federated States, each treated separately, with excellent maps showing railways, existing or projected, roads, and rivers. Mr. Conway Belfield has executed his task with clearness and great ability.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications of George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, January, February, March;—*The Sunday Strand*, January, February, March;—*The Strand Magazine*, January, February, March;—*The Citizen's Atlas*, parts 8-12;—*The Wide World Magazine*, January, February, March;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan

and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Eusèbe Vassel (Tunis: au Secrétariat Général de l'Institut);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*Sphinx*, revue critique, embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, par Karl Piehl (Upsala: C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E.);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Kayastha Samachar*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1902);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, revue philologique (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1);—*The Year-Book of New South Wales*, compiled by the editor of the "Year-Book of Australia," for circulation by the Agent-General in London, Westminster Chambers, 9, Victoria Street, S.W.;—*The Surrey Magazine* (Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Ltd., and the Holmesdale Press, Redhill Junction);—*The Humanitarian* (the Humanitarian League, 53, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.);—*La Revue d'Asie et des Colonies* (London: P. S. King and Son, and the Redaction and Administration, 24, Boulevard des Capucines, Paris);—*African Commerce*, a monthly review of African affairs (5, Dean Street, High Holborn, London);—*Indian Progress*, a bi-monthly devoted to the discussion of Social, Religious, and Ethical Problems relating to the Civilization of India (Black Town, Madras);—*Archæology*, Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the Year ending June 30, 1902 (Luzac and Co.; Constable and Co.);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle United Provinces of Agra and Oude for the Year ending March 31, 1902* (Government Press);—*Report of the Director of Public Instruction on the Progress of Education in the Bombay Presidency during the Quinquennium, from 1897-1898 to 1901-1902*, with a supplement (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1902).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone the notice of the following works: *East of the Barrier, or Sidelights on the Manchuria Mission*, by the Rev. J. Miller Graham (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1902);—*The Ideals of the East, with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, by Kakasu Okakura (John Murray, London, 1903);—*In Pursuit of the "Mad" Mullah: Service and Sport in the Somali Protectorate*, by Captain Malcolm McNeill, D.S.O., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with a chapter by Lieutenant A. C. H. Dixon, West India Regiment (C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., London, 1902);—*A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, by George Stephen Goodspeed, PH.D., with map and plans (Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1903);—*The Ancient East*: No. 1, "The Realms of the Egyptian Dead," by K. A. Wiedemann, PH.D., second edition; No. 2, "The Tell el Amarna Period," by Carl Niebuhr; No. 3, "The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis," by Heinrich Zimmern, PH.D.; No. 4, "The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell," by Alfred Jeremias, PH.D.; No. 5, "Popular Literature in Ancient Egypt," by A. Wiedemann, PH.D. (David Nutt, 57-59, Long Acre, London, 1902);—*The Nineteenth Century Series*: "Progress of British Empire in the Century," by J. Stanley Little (The Linscott Publishing Company, Toronto and Philadelphia; W. and R. Chambers, Ltd., London and Edinburgh, 1903);—*The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century*, by T. A. Coghlan and T. T. Ewing (The Linscott Publishing Company, as above);—*St. George and the Chinese Dragon: an Account of the Relief of the Peking Legations by an Officer of the British Contingent*, by Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. Vaughan, 7th Rajputs (C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., 1902);—*China and the Chinese*, by Herbert Allen Giles, LL.D. (The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Company, agents, 66, Fifth Avenue, New York, 1902);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. ii., edited by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (Luzac and Co., London, 1902);—*Representative Indians*, by G. Paramaswaran Pillai, second edition, enlarged, with additional lives (W. Thacker and Co., Creed Lane, E.C.; Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1902);—*The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, by Alfred J. Butler, D.LITT., F.S.A., etc. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1902).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Coronation ceremonies at Delhi commenced on January 29, when the Viceroy, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, entered in state the ancient capital of the Mogul Emperors. His Excellency was attended by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and followed by a brilliant assemblage of the princes and rulers of India, riding on elephants. On January 1 the Great Darbar was held, and the chief Indian princes, the heads of all branches of the Indian Administration, representatives of all the provinces of the Indian Empire, and the chief princes, chiefs, and nobles of the protected States, were present to render homage to the King-Emperor's representative. On January 8 a great review of British and native troops was held on the plain outside the Darbar amphitheatre. There were 30,000 troops on the field, and the spectacle was the most brilliant ever seen in India. In connection with the Darbar celebrations there was an interesting ceremony at Delhi on January 6, when the Sikh chieftains marked their sense of the significance of the Darbar and their loyalty to the King-Emperor by a solemn act of worship at the shrine of Teg Bahadur, their ninth *Guru*. The presence of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught at the Darbar added greatly to its effect. Their Royal Highnesses afterwards made an extensive tour in the country. Amongst the places visited were the Khaibar Pass, Malakand, Meerut, Gwalior, Bhurtpur, Jaipur, Bikanir, and Bombay.

The Viceroy, after careful consideration, has decided to devote the magnificent donation of £20,000 from Mr. Henry Phipps to two objects : a laboratory for agricultural research, to be called the Phipps' Laboratory, which will probably be situated at Dehra Dun, and the provision of a second Pasteur Institute in the South of India, similar to that at Kasauli, for the cure of hydrophobia. In consequence of the increased number of military patients treated last year at Kasauli, the Government has increased its annual grant from Rs. 9,500 to Rs. 12,000.

Lord Curzon, speaking at a dinner of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, referred to the inadequacy of the staff with which Indian administration had to be carried on.

Andrew Henderson Leith Fraser, Esq., C.S.I., has been appointed by His Majesty to be Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in succession to the late Sir John Woodburn.

There are now about 28,000 persons on famine relief in the Central Provinces. All relief has now ceased in the Bombay Presidency.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Owing to constant disputes last summer on the borders of the Upper Kurram Valley between Turis in British territory and local tribesmen in Afghanistan regarding grazing rights, a joint commission consisting of Afghan and British will inquire into the question, when it is hoped that a satisfactory and final settlement will be arrived at.

The Chinarak route, making a direct communication between Tochi and Kurram, is now open, and safeguarded by the local tribesmen.

Lord Kitchener, accompanied by General Egerton, has made a brief tour on the Tonk, Wano, and Bannu frontier.

INDIA : NATIVE.—The Duke of Connaught, on February 13, invested the Maharaja of Jaipur with the Knight Commandership of the Victorian Order, in full Darbar.

The Maharani of Jaipur has given one lac of rupees to the Indian People's Famine Trust.

Major Sir Umaid Singh, the Maharao of Kotah, to commemorate the Proclamation Darbar, has announced his intention of remitting and striking off all arrears of land revenue outstanding up to the end of 1899-1900, amounting to fifty lacs.

The Raja of Nahan has been nominated an additional member of the Viceroy's Council.

The Government has recognised Ghulām Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur as Prince of Arcot in succession to his father, who died recently at Delhi.

The Maharaja of Datia has paid a private visit to Calcutta, where, at the invitation of the Viceroy, he stayed as a guest of the Government.

The Maharaja Shivaji Rao Holkar of Indore, in solemn Darbar, held on January 31 last, announced his abdication in favour of his son, Tukoji Rao, a youth of twelve. During the minority of the young Maharaja, the native Ministers of Indore and the members of the Council will, under the direction of the Resident, conduct the business of the State.

The Maharaj Kumar of Burdwan was installed on the *gadi* at Burdwan by the Lieutenant-Governor on February 10 last.

AFGHANISTAN.—The country continues quite peaceful. The Amir has been showing more energy lately in his conduct of public business, fearing the weakening of his personal authority by delegating power to relatives and nobles. The Kabul Khel district is quiet, the effect of some punitive operations having proved most salutary.

The death of the Hadā Mullā occurred on December 23 last. He has been succeeded locally by the Shujā Mullā, of whom little is known.

The Amir has appointed the Hākīm of Chakansur as his representative on the Anglo-Afghan Boundary Commission which is to demarcate the frontier about Sistan and settle the disputes regarding irrigation from the Helmand River.

The British Commission under Major McMahon, sent to settle the points in dispute, reached Kwāja 'Ali, on the Helmand River, on February 4, where it was cordially received by Afghan officials.

PERSIA.—It is stated that the Government has determined on a scheme of financial reform, with the co-operation of Belgian experts.

A concession for the construction of a new road from Tabriz to Kazvin has been granted to the Russian Bank at Teheran.

A special mission under Viscount Downe was sent out to Teheran in January to invest H.M. the Shah with the Order of the Garter. This ceremony took place on February 2.

H.R.H. the Moayyed-ed-dowleh and His Excellency Mirza Muhammad Khan, the Vazir-i-Darbār to the Shah, have been appointed Honorary

Knights Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George; and His Excellency Mirza Nizām, Gaffāri, Muhandis-el-Mamālek and Minister of Public Works, to be an Honorary Knight Commander of the same Order. Hussein Kuli Khan, Nawāb, has been appointed Honorary Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of the Bath, Civil Division.

Major James Archibald Douglas has lately been appointed Military Attaché to the Legation at Teheran.

A Russo-Persian commercial agreement has come into force whereby it is provided that the 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duties existing since 1828 shall be superseded by specific duties, and that the majority of the Persian export duties shall be abolished. The Persian Government has pledged herself to abandon for ever the old system of farming taxes, and at suitable points to establish Government Customs stations.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Convention between the Porte and the Germans for the whole of the Konia-Baghdad Railway has been concluded, and awaits an *Iraddé*. The basis of the agreement is a kilometric guarantee of 11,000 francs, and an annual contribution of 4,500 francs per kilometre by the Government towards the working expenses.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—An earthquake which occurred at Andijan in Russian Turkestan in December last caused the deaths of 2,500 persons and the destruction of 16,000 houses.

CHINA.—The Maritime Customs revenue of the treaty ports for 1902 show over 30 millions of taels, as against 25½ millions in the previous year. The Shanghai total is 10 millions.

The Government protests that it cannot pay the rest of the indemnity on a gold basis, and requests that in future the Customs duties should be payable on a gold basis.

According to Chinese official reports, the rebellion in Kwang-si is increasing, and has spread over the Hu-nan border. A force of 500 Imperial troops has been ambushed in the Yang-ning Pass and all slaughtered. A widespread organization is apparent in the southern provinces, where a serious revolution is threatened with the view to the formation of a separate Government.

The British, American, and French Ministers at Peking have objected to the appointment of Yu-Lien-san as Governor of Shan-si, on account of his complicity in the murder of missionaries.

JAPAN.—The House of Representatives has been dissolved, as it refused to entertain any compromise in regard to the financial proposals of the Government.

The settled accounts for the last fiscal year show a surplus of 7,000,000 yen. The present year's accounts are also expected to produce a surplus. Owing to the dissolution, this year's Budget, according to the Constitution, continues operative next year.

The General Election returns show the election of 180 members of the *Seiyu-Kai*, 92 Progressives, 14 Imperialists, and 74 Independents.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—In February a force of 100 constabulary, under Inspector Keithley, defeated 200 insurgents, forming the main force of the irreconcilable General San Miguel, near Marikira.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—Lord Cromer, accompanied by the Sirdar (Sir Reginal Wingate), has made a tour of inspection in the Sudan. Every place of interest between Khartum and Gondokoro was visited. They were courteously received by the Belgians at Keros and Lado. Lord Cromer expressed his satisfaction of all he saw.

The exports for 1902 were valued at £E17,617,003, an increase of £E1,886,915 over the previous year. There is a surplus of £E716,134 in the financial accounts for 1902.

The Zifteh barrage, between Cairo and the sea, has been opened.

SOMALILAND.—Facilities having been given by the Italian Government for the landing of British troops at Obbia, in Italian Somaliland, a column 1,400 strong, consisting of infantry and cavalry, under General Manning, advanced from that place and occupied Galkayu. The Mulla retreated to Galadi, fifty miles distant. Lack of transport and supplies have prevented the column following up the enemy. The losses in camels were very serious. Damot is the advance post of our Northern column.

An Abyssinian force, numbering 10,000 men, with whom are Colonel Rochfort and Captain Cobbold, military Attachés, is co-operating against the Mulla, and is marching on Gerloguby.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—The Uganda railway is finished, and great commercial developments are taking place. There is a through train each way, between Mombasa and Port Florence on Lake Victoria Nyanza twice weekly, and steamers run across the lake in connection with the trains.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.—Glowing accounts have been received of the Harrison Expedition to the Victoria Nyanza, which state, with regard to the Mombasa route to Lake Tanganyika, that goods can be brought there in three months less time than by the Zambesi route.

A long-continued drought in the Shiré highlands has broken. Native food crops are safe, but the rains came too late to save the whole of the coffee crop.

His Majesty's Government has granted to the Shiré Highlands Railway, Nyasaland (Limited), a concession for the construction and working of a railway, about 200 miles in length, connecting the Shiré River with Lake Nyasa.

NATAL.—The imports during the past year are valued at £13,500,000, as against £9,750,000 in the previous year. The exports amounted to £9,200,000, as compared with £4,750,000 in 1902.

TRANSVAAL.—The railway systems of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies are to be formally vested in their respective Governments from November next under a joint Board of control, which will work the lines as one system.

The total value of the imports for 1902 amounted to £13,067,671, as compared with £3,664,149 in 1901.

The approximate expenditure chargeable to the Treasury for the period from July to end of December, 1902, amounts to £1,805,757, and the revenue for the same period to £2,278,490.

Dr. Jameson has been appointed Commissioner of Lands.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The revenue for the six months ended December 31, 1902, amounted to £422,000, of which £160,000 was derived from the railways, £120,000 from Customs, and £11,800 from the sale of lands. The expenditure amounted to £321,000.

CAPE COLONY.—The imports for last year amounted to £34,190,500, as against £23,992,031 for the previous year. The exports were £17,436,131, as against £10,873,273 in 1901.

Mr. Chamberlain landed in Natal at the end of December, and was very enthusiastically received by the colonists. After a short stay and visiting the battle-fields, he made a tour through the Transvaal, which included a journey by ox-waggon from Potchefstroom to Mafeking, and visited General Andries Cronje's farm, where he was enthusiastically welcomed, as also by General Delarey at Ventersdorp. From Mafeking he journeyed to Cape Colony.

WEST AFRICA : NIGERIA.—The attitude of the Amir of Kano having become more hostile, Sir F. Lugard decided on immediate operations against him. A force composed of thirty-seven British officers and 1,100 men concentrated at Zaria, the nearest British post to Kano, under the command of Colonel Moreland. The forward movement was made in the middle of January. The walled town of Faki was first taken, and Kano was occupied on February 3 after considerable fighting, during which 300 of the enemy were killed. The Amir, with about 1,000 horsemen, fled northward towards Sokoto. Our casualties were : Lieutenant S. B. B. Dyer (2nd Life Guards) severely wounded ; Captain J. Farquhar, R.A., slightly wounded ; and twelve rank and file wounded. A force left Kano on February 16 to disperse the ex-Amir's troops.

The GOLD COAST railway (Kumassi extension) to Obnassi, the headquarters of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, has been completed. The length is 126 miles from the coast port of Sekondi.

The British Boundary Commission which is to delimit the Anglo-French frontier round Sokoto to Lake Chad has reached Ilo, whence, on the arrival of the French Commissioners, the delimitation starts.

MOROCCO.—After the repulse of the Pretender's army by the Sultan's troops, the former again attacked and succeeded in disastrously routing them, the Sultan and troops falling back in confusion to Fez. Several engagements have taken place, but with no definite result.

TUNIS.—The Mecca pilgrimage of this year has been forbidden in Tunis on account of the cholera in Egypt.

CANADA.—The result of the *plébiscite* taken during December last was : In favour of the Liquor Act 199,692, and against it 103,482, giving a majority for the Act of 96,210. Under the conditions of the *plébiscite* 212,723 votes were required to be cast for the Act, in order to bring prohibition into force.

The imports for the last six months of 1902 amounted to \$106,000,000, and the exports to \$125,000,000, the total trade amounting to \$231,000,000, an increase of \$18,000,000 as compared with the corresponding six months of 1901.

The value of the fishery products last year was \$25,737,153, an increase of \$4,000,000. This was a record year.

The first message sent across the Atlantic Ocean by Marconi's wireless telegraphy was despatched by Lord Minto to King Edward.

The Dominion Parliament was opened on March 12. The principal Bill is for the readjustment of the representation of the different provinces.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the last six months of 1902 amounted to \$1,200,000, the largest on record. The herring fishery has been very successful.

The Colonial Assembly has agreed to renew the French shore *modus vivendi* for another year.

WEST INDIES.—The estimates show a surplus of £15,000. The revenue continues buoyant, and the financial prospects of the islands are improving.

AUSTRALASIA: COMMONWEALTH.—The Customs receipts for the last six months of 1902 amounted to £4,770,000, being £242,500 above the estimate. The postal receipts amounted to £1,182,000, being £40,000 below the estimate.

VICTORIA.—The Ministry was constituted in February as follows: Mr. Irvine, Premier, Attorney-General, and Solicitor-General; Mr. Bent, Minister of Railways, Public Works, and Health; Mr. Taverner, President of the Board of Lands and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Davies (Minister of Education), Mr. Shiels, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Cameron retain their portfolios.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Admiral Sir Frederick George Denham Bedford, G.C.B., has been appointed Governor.

The water-supply to the goldfields in the colony was inaugurated on January 24.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—There has been a general rainfall all over the colony.

QUEENSLAND.—A cyclone has caused damage to the extent of £200,000 at Townsville. Many persons were injured.

NEW ZEALAND.—The imports for 1902 amounted to £11,314,856, and the exports to £13,633,577. The population (including 43,143 Maoris) was 851,063, showing an increase of 20,263 over the figures for 1901. The revenue was far in excess of the former years. A splendid harvest is in view, and the prices of products have never been better.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following:—Sir Arthur Hodgson, served in the Royal Navy for three years, and settled in Australia in 1840, and was greatly instrumental in the development of Queensland;—General Edward Samuel Jackson (Mutiny campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Lawlor, formerly of the East Lancashire Regiment (Afghan war 1878-80);—Lieutenant-General John Mackenzie Macintyre, late R.A. (Crimea 1855-56, China 1860);—Mr. James Catrall Price, late of the Bengal Civil Service;—Major Charles Giberne, late of the Indian Army;—Mr. Joseph Graham, K.C., a former Advocate-General of Bengal;—General William Charles Hadden, late, Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers (Canadian rebellion 1837-39);—Colonel William Cadogan Mitchel, late of the Bengal Staff Corps (Peshawar

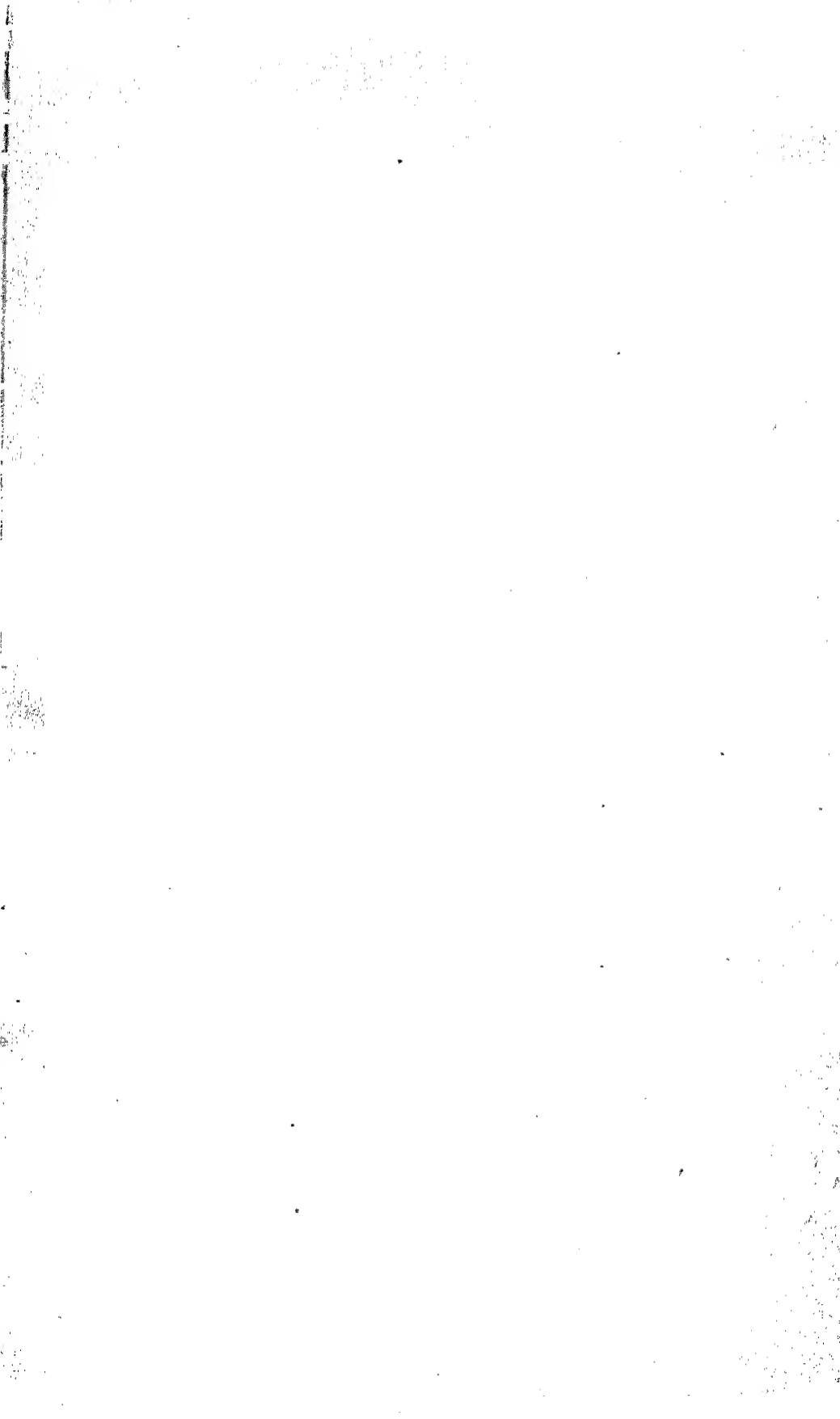
frontier 1854, and Mutiny);—Major Edmund Peach, Indian Staff Corps, and Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General on the Headquarters Staff (Burmese expedition 1885-88, North-West Frontier 1897-98, South Africa 1900-01);—Colonel James Tierney Skinner, C.B., D.S.O., late Army Service Corps (Nile expedition 1884-85, Giniss expedition 1886);—Sir William Blunt, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel James Fitzgerald, formerly of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment (Sikkim expedition 1860, Hazara campaign 1868);—Major Allan Shafto Adair, formerly of the 13th Regiment (Crimea, Mutiny);—Lieutenant Frederick Tull, R.N. (Abyssinian campaign 1868, Bahrein and Maskat operations, Egyptian war 1882);—Commander E. R. Connor, C.M.G., R.N. (slave-trade suppression African coast, China 1901);—The Hon. Henry John Lindley Wood, formerly Major in the 12th Lancers (Ashanti war 1873-74, Cyprus 1878, Zulu war 1879);—His Highness Raja Bije Sain Bahadur, Raja of Mandi;—Mr. George W. Yelverton Prendergast, H.M. Vice-Consul at Scutari, Albania;—Mr. John William Turnbull, late Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Natal;—Colonel Arthur Frederick Barrow, of the Indian Staff Corps (Afghan war 1878, Afghan Boundary Commission 1884, Chitral Relief Force 1895);—General G. Scougal Macbean, C.B., formerly of the Bengal Staff Corps (Bori Afridi expedition 1853, and Mutiny);—General Mangles James Brander, formerly of the Bengal Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-79);—Dr. F. J. Steingass, a celebrated Orientalist and linguist;—General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, G.C.B. (Coorg Camp 1834, Chinese war 1841-42, Crimea);—Major Sidney Reynett Brown (Chinese war 1857, second Ashanti war);—Major John Sullivan Cameron (Nile campaign 1898, and Khartum);—Colonel J. F. F. Cologan (Mutiny campaigns 1857-59, Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1887-88);—Admiral E. C. T. d'Eyncourt, C.B. (Canton 1841, Baltic 1854-56);—Major-General Stewart Fellows, late of the East India Company's Service (Persian expeditionary force 1857, Afghan war 1879-80);—Mr. James O'Kinealy, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court;—Colonel P. Percival, late of the 79th Regiment (Crimea, Mutiny);—Mr. Julian Ralph, a well-known author and journalist;—Fleet Paymaster W. A. Rowe, R.N. (Mombasa 1895, Benin expedition 1897);—Sir Colley Harman Scotland, formerly Chief Justice of the Madras High Court of Judicature;—Mr. F. D. Thornton, an Orientalist;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. J. Des Barres, formerly of the Royal Artillery (Afghan war 1878-79);—Admiral T. Saumarez, C.B. (River Plate 1845-46, China 1858);—Major-General Frederick Henry Smith, formerly of the Bengal Staff Corps (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Afridi expedition 1855, Mutiny campaign 1858);—Mr. James Innes Minchin, formerly of the Madras Civil Service of the late Hon. East India Company's Service (Resident at Travancore and Cochin);—Colonel Arthur H. C. Dane, of the Indian Medical Service (Afghan war 1879-80);—Major the Hon. C. J. D. Arbuthnott, formerly of the Bengal Cavalry;—Sir Muhammad Munawar Ali Khan Bahadur, Prince of Arcot, the representative of the former dynasty of the Carnatic, and leader of the Muhammadan community of the Madras Presidency;—Major-General T. Carlyle Bell, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Persian

Expeditionary Force 1856-57, Afghan war 1879-80);—Mr. Ralph Borg, C.M.G., British Consul at Cairo;—Colonel W. G. Cubitt, V.C., D.S.O., late of the Bengal Staff Corps (Sonthal campaign 1855, Mutiny, Duffa expedition 1875, Afghan war 1880, Akha expedition 1883-84, Burmese expedition 1886-87);—Commander F. Morris, R.N., retired (Syrian war);—Major-General C. J. B. Riddell, C.B., late of the Royal Artillery (Mutiny, West Indies);—Major-General F. H. Smith, formerly of the Bengal Staff Corps (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Afridi expedition 1855, Mutiny campaign);—Captain Robert Calder Allen, C.B., R.N. retired (China and Borneo 1842-43, Baltic);—Lieutenant-Colonel George Lynedoch Carmichael (Crimea and Mutiny campaigns);—Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Henry Cole Dane, of the Indian Medical Service, principal officer of the Sind district;—Major William Lawrence Sayer, late Royal Marine Light Infantry (Syrian campaign 1840-41, Baltic 1854-55);—Major-General Charles Maxton Shakespear, late of the Madras Staff Corps (second Burmese war 1852-53);—General Prinsloo, a well-known Boer General;—Surgeon-Major William Venour, Army Medical Staff, retired (Ashanti campaign 1873, Afghan war 1878-80, Sudan expedition 1884, Burmese expedition 1886-87);—Major John Arthur Bayley, late of the 52nd (2nd Battalion Oxfordshire) Regiment (Mutiny);—Mr. J. M. Wrench, Chief Engineer of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway;—Surgeon-Major Forsyth, of the Viceroy's Dispensary;—Mr. Frank Butcher, Assistant Editor of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*;—Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, formerly Premier of Victoria;—Mr. Ralph Milbanke, C.B., First Secretary of British Embassy at Vienna, and some time Second Secretary at Peking;—Rev. Henderson Burnside, of the Church Missionary Society (China and Japan);—Major-General Edgar John Spilsbury, late of the Bengal Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852-53);—Hon. Andrew Trew Wood, member of the Canadian Senate;—Surgeon-General J. Brake, late of the Indian Medical Service (Mutiny campaign 1857-59);—Professor E. Byles Cowell, a Professor of Sanskrit in India and at Cambridge University;—Mr. David Wilkinson Campbell, C.I.E., for many years of the East Indian Railway;—Major Charles Lionel Mainwaring Rich, of the Indian Army, and Assistant Judge-Advocate-General at Allahabad (Hazara expeditions 1888 and 1891);—Mr. Y. Nakai, Director and Manager of the London Branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank, Limited;—Field-Marshal Sir John Lintorn Arabin Simmons, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., R.E. (Crimea campaign 1854-57, Consul-General at Warsaw 1858-60, and afterwards Governor of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, etc.);—Vice-Admiral George Le Geyt Bowyear, C.B. (China and Australia 1848-51, Black Sea 1854, etc.);—Colonel R. A. Crawford, late of the 1st Battalion Durham Light Infantry (North China campaign 1860);—Captain and Brevet-Major E. T. James, of the South Lancashire Regiment (South Africa 1899-1900);—Colonel Sandys, Director of Transport, Bengal Command (Afghan war 1879-80, North-west Frontier campaign 1881);—Commander Joseph Clarke, late of the Royal Indian Marine;—Mr. H. C. Poole, Inspector of the Salt and Abkari Department;—Mr. W. Claude Butcher, I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner at Lyallpur;—Mr. L. B. Fyffe, Assistant Commissioner;—Mr. J. F. Regan, Superintendent of Government printing in Burma;—

Colonel Sir J. Terence O'Brien, K.C.M.G., late Governor of Heligoland and Newfoundland (served in India and Ceylon 1849-67);—Captain H. E. S. Pocklington, late of the 15th Hussars (Afghan war 1880, Boer war 1881);—Colonel H. W. Stroud, late of the East Lancashire Regiment (Panjab 1848-49, and Peshawar 1857-60);—Mr. Graham Warburton Elphinstone, of the Indian Civil Service;—The Venerable Francis Drinkall Pritt, of North Queensland;—The Right Rev. Joseph Louis Auguste Etienne Bardon, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Coimbatore;—Major-General Alexander Thomson Reid, late of the Bombay Staff Corps;—Mr. Alexis Rousset, the explorer;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Currie Sandys, Chief Supply and Transport Officer of the Oude district (Afghan war 1879-80, Mahsud Waziri expedition 1881, Miranzai expedition 1891);—Lieutenant-General Douglas Standen, late of the Madras Staff Corps (Mutiny);—Mr. George N. Taylor, late of the Madras Civil Service;—Vice-Admiral R. H. Napier, retired, of the China Survey, entered the Navy in 1849;—Mr. Patrick Joseph Hughes, F.R.G.S., Consul-General at Shanghai;—Major-General William Henry Kerf (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Charles Gilbert Master, C.S.I., late member of the Council, Madras;—Colonel Thomas Harrison Tod Chalon, formerly of the Madras Light Cavalry (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Edward Calborne Jarvis, late of the Hampshire Regiment (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major-General Sir G. S. Whitmore, member of the New Zealand Legislative Council (Kafir wars, Boer insurrection, Crimea and Maori war);—Lieut.-Colonel Edward Brandt, late of the 103rd Bombay Fusiliers (Mutiny);—Colonel John Gore Campbell, formerly of the 2nd Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers (Southal rebellion 1855-56, and Mutiny campaign);—Major-General Clennell Colingwood, late Royal Artillery (Afghan war 1878-79);—Lieut.-Colonel H. F. Gordon-Forbes (Afghan war 1878-79, Burma 1886-87);—Colonel Harvey Hamilton Harvey-Kelly (Upper Burma 1887-1892, Chitral 1895);—Colonel Henry John Lyster, R.A. (Afghan war 1878-80, Mahsud Waziri expedition 1881);—Major-General Charles F. Parkinson (Crimea and Central Indian campaign);—Major Hedley Wright, D.S.O., of the 11th Bengal Lancers (Hazara expedition 1891, Chitral relief expedition and North-west Frontier).

March 15, 1903.





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